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HETEROLINGUALISM AND CULTURAL INTEGRITY IN FINNISH TRANSLATIONS OF ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN NOVELS

Laura Ekberg

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines heterolingualism in Anglophone Caribbean novels and their Finnish translations and maps the strategies used by the Finnish translators in translating heterolingual texts. The primary focus of this dissertation is to analyse how the decisions made by the translator affect the text's *cultural integrity*. When a novel is transferred from one cultural setting to another, how does the distance between these two cultural settings affect the reader's understanding of the text, and, more importantly, what is the translator's role in this process? The challenges of translating heterolingual literary works that are both culturally and geographically bound are examined through textual analysis as well as translator interviews.

My approach to the analysis of these texts stems from the notion of postcolonial writing as a form of intercultural translation in which both the translator and the Caribbean author are seen to be employing a process of translation in producing their work. These similarities allow for both the source texts and their translations to be analysed using Translation Studies methodology. This study is thus located at an intersection between the notions of intercultural translation employed in Postcolonial Studies and the notion of interlingual translation that is at the centre of Translation Studies.

With a selection of ten novels that spans five decades of translated Anglophone Caribbean fiction in Finnish, this dissertation aims to identify developments that can be seen in the translation strategies used by translators in transferring geographically and culturally bound varieties into another language. Various factors that can be seen to influence the choices made by the translators will be discussed. In addition to cultural and geographic distance, I argue that distance in terms of linguistic structure can have a significant role in how heterolingual texts are translated.

KEYWORDS: translation, heterolingualism, code-switching, spoken language

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä väitöskirja käsittelee monikielisyyttä englanninkielisessä karibialaisessa kirjallisuudessa ja sen suomennoksissa sekä kartoittaa strategioita, joita suomentajat ovat käyttäneet kääntäessään monikielisiä tekstejä. Tutkimuksen päätarkoitus on selvittää, miten kääntäjien tekemät ratkaisut vaikuttavat tekstin *kulttuuriseen eheyteen*. Väitöskirja käsittelee sitä, miten lähde- ja kohdekulttuurien välinen etäisyys vaikuttaa lukijan kokemukseen tekstistä ja mikä on kääntäjän rooli tässä prosessissa. Kulttuurisesti ja maantieteellisesti sidonnaisen monikielisen kirjallisuuden kääntämisen haasteita käsitellään tekstianalyysin ja suomentajahaastatteluiden keinoin.

Tutkimuksen kohteena olevien tekstien analyysi pohjautuu ajatukseen jälkikoloniaalisesta kirjallisuudesta kulttuurienvälisen kääntämisen muotona. Siinä sekä kääntäjän että lähdetekstin kirjoittajan katsotaan hyödyntävän kääntämisen kaltaisia prosesseja tekstin tuottamiseen. Näiden samankaltaisuuksien ansiosta sekä lähde- että kohdetekstejä voidaan tutkia käännöstutkimuksen menetelmillä. Tutkimus siis yhdistää jälkikoloniaalisen tutkimuksen käsitystä kulttuurienvälisestä kääntämisestä ja käännöstutkimuksen käsitystä kieltenvälisestä kääntämisestä.

Tutkimusaineistoon kuuluu kymmenen englanninkielistä karibialaista romaania ja niiden suomennookset, jotka on julkaistu noin 50 vuoden aikana. Väitöskirjassa pyritään tunnistamaan, millaisia ajallisia muutoksia suomentajien strategioissa on nähtävissä maantieteellisesti ja kulttuurisesti sidonnaisten tekstien suomentamisessa. Tutkimuksessa käsitellään erilaisia tekijöitä, joiden voidaan katsoa vaikuttavan suomentajien tekemiin ratkaisuihin. Esitän, että kulttuurisen ja maantieteellisen etäisyyden lisäksi myös kielirakenteiden välisellä etäisyydellä on merkittävää vaikutusta siihen, miten monikielisiä tekstejä käännetään.

ASIASANAT: kääntäminen, monikielisyys, koodinvaihto, puhekieli

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Laura Ekberg

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List of abbreviations

<i>Bones</i>	Danticat, Edwidge (1998) 2000. <i>The Farming of Bones</i> . London: Abacus.
<i>Bones FI</i>	Danticat, Edwidge 2000. <i>Veressä viljava maa</i> . Transl. Leena Tamminen. Jyväskylä; Helsinki: Gummerus.
<i>Breath</i>	Danticat, Edwidge (1994) 1998. <i>Breath, Eyes, Memory</i> . New York: Vintage Books.
<i>Breath FI</i>	Danticat, Edwidge 1999. <i>Näen, muistan, hengitän</i> . Transl. Leena Tamminen. Jyväskylä; Helsinki: Gummerus.
<i>Carnival</i>	Antoni, Robert 2005. <i>Carnival</i> . New York: Black Cat.
<i>Carnival FI</i>	Antoni, Robert 2005. <i>Karnevaalit</i> . Transl. Einari Aaltonen. Helsinki: Like.
<i>Folktales</i>	Antoni, Robert 2000. <i>My Grandmother's Erotic Folktales</i> . New York: Grove Press.
<i>Folktales FI</i>	Antoni, Robert (2000) 2002. <i>Isoäitini eroottiset kansantarinat</i> . Transl. Anni Sumari. Helsinki: Like.
<i>House</i>	Naipaul, V. S. (1961) 2000. <i>A House for Mr. Biswas</i> . London: Penguin.
<i>House FI</i>	Naipaul, V. S. 1985. <i>Talo mr Biswasille</i> . Transl. Seppo Loponen. Helsinki: Otava.
<i>Mangos</i>	Novas, Himilce 1996. <i>Mangos, Bananas and Coconuts: A Cuban Love Story</i> . Houston: Arte Público Press.
<i>Mangos FI</i>	Novas, Himilce 1998. <i>Mangot, banaanit ja kookospähkinät: Kuubalainen rakkaustarina</i> . Transl. Sari Selander. Helsinki: Like.
<i>Masseur</i>	Naipaul, V. S. (1957) 2001. <i>The Mystic Masseur</i> . London: Picador.
<i>Masseur FI</i>	Naipaul, V. S. 1978. <i>Täysinoppinut hieroja</i> . Transl. Seppo Loponen. Helsinki: Otava.
<i>Sargasso</i>	Rhys Jean (1966) 2000. <i>Wide Sargasso Sea</i> . London: Penguin.
<i>Sargasso FI</i>	Rhys Jean 1968. <i>Siintää Sargassomeri</i> . Transl. Eva Siikarla. Porvoo; Helsinki: WSOY.
<i>Sisters</i>	García, Cristina 1997. <i>The Agüero Sisters</i> . London: Picador.

- Sisters FI* García, Cristina 1999. *Kuubalaiset sisarukset*. Transl. Leena Tamminen. Porvoo; Helsinki; Juva: WSOY.
- Song* Levy, Andrea (2010) 2011. *The Long Song*. London: Headline Review.
- Song FI* Levy, Andrea 2014. *Pitkä laulu*. Transl. Kirsi Kinnunen. Helsinki: Into.
- DoCEU* *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (1996) 2003. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- DotECott* *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad & Tobago: On Historical Principles* 2008. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- OED* *OED Online* 2019. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/>

1 Introduction

In the Caribbean, as in many other regions, multilingualism is such a deeply ingrained quality of the language communities that it plays a vitally important part in the literatures of the region. Language issues are at the heart of the history of the Caribbean, in the struggle for the identity of its peoples. As Edgar Schneider (2011, 222) explains, “such hybrid cultures and orientations are explicitly expressed and symbolized through mixed codes, linguistic usage in which speakers switch freely between English and local languages on all levels”. Works of literature, along with other types of popular media, are able to represent cultures in ways that are accessible to their consumers in a unique fashion; as Derek Attridge (2011, 124) comments, literary works should not be seen solely as conveyors of cultural knowledge but of “a certain kind of experience, a pleasurable opening up to new possibilities that only art can produce”. Therefore, how we translate fiction from other cultures can have a great impact on how those cultures are represented in ours. The purpose of this dissertation is to study heterolingualism in Anglophone Caribbean novels and their Finnish translations and to map the strategies used by the Finnish translators in translating heterolingual texts.

The primary focus of this dissertation is to analyse how the decisions made by the translator affect the text’s *cultural integrity*. This relates to the experience of the novel as explained by Attridge: how is the translator able to reproduce the source text experience for the reader of the translation? When a novel is transferred from one cultural setting to another, how does the distance between these two cultural settings affect the reader’s understanding of the text, and, more importantly, what is the translator’s role in this process? Translating heterolingual literary works that are both culturally and geographically bound can certainly be a challenge for the translator. Through textual analysis as well as translator interviews, I attempt to shed light on some of the central issues related to this topic.

With a selection of novels that spans five decades of translated Anglophone Caribbean fiction in Finnish, this dissertation aims to identify developments that can be seen in the translation strategies used by translators in transferring geographically and culturally bound varieties into another language. Various factors that can be seen to influence the choices made by the translators will be discussed. I also examine the

role that differences between source and target languages play in when and how heterolingualism is maintained in translation; in addition to cultural and geographic distance, I argue that distance in terms of linguistic structure can have a significant role in how heterolingual texts are translated.

Matters of heterolingualism and intercultural translation are discussed extensively in the field of Postcolonial Studies; for example Bill Ashcroft (2001, 5) describes how the manipulation of language has been used by both sides of the colonisation process, “the colonizer to position the colonized as marginal and inferior” and the “colonized peoples to empower themselves”. Consequently, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin argue in their seminal work, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* ([1989] 2005, 7), that such manipulation of the colonial language becomes a tool for fighting back, a “process by which the language, with its power, and the writing, with its signification of authority, has been wrested from the dominant European culture”.

Translation Studies has, in recent decades, come a long way from the erstwhile norm of seeing literary translation, among other types of translation, as transferring a text written in one language, the source language, into another, the target language. Some significant contributions highlighting the importance of heterolingual works have been made in the field. For example, issues related to the translation of heterolingual literary texts are discussed by Dirk Delabastita and Rainier Grutman (2005), Grutman (2006) as well as Reine Meylaerts (2006). Moreover, Postcolonial Studies has drawn from Translation Studies research in its depiction of literary works. Authors such as Maria Tymoczko (1999), Paul Bandia (2008), and Simona Bertacco (2014) have employed tools provided by Translation Studies to examine the process of postcolonial writing as a form of translation. However, the focus in these studies is often more on what can be termed intercultural translation, meaning that the original works themselves are studied using Translation Studies methodology rather than focusing on translations of said works into different languages.

English is, to this day, the literary language used by the majority of Caribbean authors, many of whom do not consider it their first language. However, English is by no means the only language used in these literary works; heterolingualism, such as various types of code-switching, is utilised by many Caribbean authors to represent the linguistic multiplicity of Caribbean cultures. Switching between different languages, such as English and a Creole spoken in the native community of the author, is a natural part of communication in Caribbean communities. Consequently, issues of language and cultural representation have become an integral part of the Caribbean literary tradition.

My approach to the analysis of these texts stems from Tymoczko's (1999) notion of postcolonial writing as a form of intercultural translation. In Tymoczko's (ibid, 22) words:

The two types of textual production converge in many respects; as the metaphor of translation suggests, the transmission of elements from one culture to another across a cultural and/or linguistic gap is a central concern of both these types of intercultural writing and similar constraints on the process of relocation affect both types of texts.

Both the translator and the Caribbean author are thus employing a process of translation in producing their work; both must evaluate and make choices on what to include in the text and what needs to be explained to the reader. In other words, both employ translation strategies, the difference being that, where the translator has a physical source text from which to produce their translated version, the author's less physical source is "the metatext of culture itself" (Tymoczko 1999, 21). These similarities between the processes of writing and translating a postcolonial text allow for both the source texts and their translations to be analysed using Translation Studies methodology. These Caribbean novels, in their representations of an inherently multilingual setting, can be said to have a certain kind of translational quality to them, even though they cannot be considered translations in the strictest sense of the term. As Grutman (1998, 159) puts it, "translational strategies indeed enjoy a privileged status in multilingual texts, akin to the magic of fairy tales (where animals speak) and the technology of science fiction novels". Heterolingualism thus becomes part and parcel of the Caribbean novel, as the authors employ various heterolingual practices in producing a representation of the linguistically hybrid Caribbean imagination.

Another factor that adds to this translational nature is the notion that many Caribbean authors – including those discussed in this dissertation – have emigrated away from their native islands and are writing their Caribbean works not in the Caribbean itself but in one of several diaspora communities that have been established over the decades in places such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Some authors discussed here were born in diaspora communities to parents who have emigrated away from the Caribbean. Elina Valovirta (2014) writes about the problems of defining strict geographic borders for what should be considered Caribbean literature; in her view, it "may best be viewed as a tradition of writing that emerges in and of the Caribbean as an imaginary *diasporic construct*, in addition to being a concise physical point of origin" (ibid, 11). The diasporic identity of the authors thus plays its part in the creation on the literary work.

Salman Rushdie (2010) discusses the position of the postcolonial author from his perspective as an Indian author writing in the United Kingdom. In an often-quoted essay he uses translation as a metaphor for this hybrid position and the ways in which British Indian authors have reinvented the English language to better represent their cultural point of view:

The word 'translation' comes, etymologically, from the Latin for 'bearing across'. Having been borne across the world, we are translated men. It is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation; I cling, obstinately, to the notion that something can also be gained. (ibid, 17)

Although Rushdie here uses translation in a more metaphorical sense than the concrete reproduction of literary works in different languages, which is the topic of this dissertation, the sentiment is one that does carry. Just as there is something to be gained from the outside perspective of an author writing from the diaspora, as they 'translate' their ideas of their heritage into works of art, there is also something to be gained from translating that work of art into different languages. What is to be gained naturally depends on the outcome of the translation process, the ways in which the translator is able to convey the experience of the culture into the target language setting.

This study is thus located at an intersection between the notions of intercultural translation employed in Postcolonial Studies and the notion of interlingual translation that is at the centre of Translation Studies. The textual material for this dissertation consists of ten Anglophone Caribbean novels and their Finnish translations. The selection of novels includes, in chronological order by author: V. S. Naipaul's *The Mystic Masseur* (1957; henceforth *Masseur*) and *A House for Mr Biswas* (1961; henceforth *House*), Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966; henceforth *Sargasso*), Edwidge Danticat's *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (1994; henceforth *Breath*) and *The Farming of Bones* (1998; henceforth *Bones*), Himilce Novas's *Mangos, Bananas and Coconuts: A Cuban Love Story* (1996; henceforth *Mangos*), Cristina García's *The Agüero Sisters* (1997; henceforth *Sisters*), Robert Antoni's *My Grandmother's Erotic Folktales* (2000; henceforth *Folktales*) and *Carnival* (2005), and Andrea Levy's *The Long Song* (2010; henceforth *Song*).¹ The two novels by Naipaul were translated by Seppo Loponen in 1978 and 1985, respectively. Jean Rhys's novel was translated by Eva Siikarla in 1968. Leena Tamminen has translated both novels by Edwidge Danticat, in 1999 and 2000, as well as the novel by Cristina García in 1999.

¹ Although I use abbreviations for the names of the novels and their translations, years of publication are also included in references in order to make it easier for the reader to keep track of when each of the texts was published.

Novas's novel was translated in 1998 by Sari Selander. The two works by Robert Antoni were translated by different translators: *Folktales* by Anni Sumari in 2000 and *Carnival* by Einari Aaltonen in 2005. Andrea Levy's novel was translated by Kirsi Kinnunen in 2014. The selection thus includes novels by seven different authors and seven different translators, and their years of publication range from the 1950s to the 2010s. The aim in selecting these particular works for analysis has been to provide a cross-section of Anglophone Caribbean literature in Finnish translation. This textual analysis is complemented with data received from interviews with some of the Finnish translators of these novels.

Another relevant point that must be made regarding my materials is that, although I have limited the scope of this dissertation to cover Anglophone Caribbean fiction in the sense that all of the novels use a variety of English as their matrix language, not all the novels should be considered part of the Anglophone Caribbean in the sense that they would be set on or written by authors coming from predominantly English-speaking islands. Of the ten novels, two are written by a Haitian author, Edwidge Danticat, and two are written by Cuban authors, Himilce Novas and Cristina García, Haiti being a part of the Francophone Caribbean and Cuba being predominantly Spanish-speaking. Consequently, many of the authors discussed do not speak English as their first language. Yet all of them have chosen to publish (at least some of) their literary works in English.

Chapter 2 of the dissertation introduces some of the central concepts relevant to the study as well as previous research in the field. Section 2.1 introduces various aspects related to the study of multilingualism and heterolingualism, code-switching, and creole languages. In section 2.2, the discussion moves on to the area of Translation Studies and the strategies available for translators in dealing with issues arising from the translation of heterolingual texts. Section 2.3 discusses questions of the politics of translation and exoticism and also introduces the concept of cultural integrity in more detail. In chapter 3, the novels, their authors and translators are introduced, with particular attention paid to the various ways in which heterolingualism manifests in the novels. Additionally, an overview of the interviews conducted with some of the Finnish translators is provided. Chapters 4 and 5 contain analyses of the novels and their translations, focusing on two different types of heterolingualism, namely interlingual code-switching and the use of spoken language as a representation of creole languages. For the part on interlingual code-switching, the discussion is divided into the most commonly appearing semantic categories connected to the translational and intercultural nature of these works. For the part on spoken language, different levels of language are given specific focus, and the novels and their translations are analysed based on how the different levels of language become manifest in the representation of creole languages. Chapter 6 provides further discussion on the central themes of the dissertation: the kinds of

strategies that have been employed by the authors as well as the translators, and the effects these different strategies have on the translation as an end product. Chapter 7, then, provides a summary and conclusions.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework for the dissertation and discusses some of the issues relevant for my topic in the light of previous research in the field. The chapter begins with a discussion on heterolingualism and code-switching as well as the linguistic context of the novels discussed in this dissertation. The theoretical models for studying code-switching have been developed primarily for the study of spoken rather than written discourse, but more recent studies have also utilised these models for the study of literary heterolingualism. The theoretical framework for studying both oral and literary code-switching is introduced along with concerns relating more specifically to the linguistic landscape of the Caribbean region, such as the position of English and various creole languages in Caribbean language communities. Due to the nature of the multilingual language communities in which the novels discussed here are set, specific types of heterolingual practices emerge. These can be divided into two main types of code-switching, which I refer to as interlingual code-switching and spoken language.

In section 2.2, the discussion moves on to introducing relevant aspects of Translation Studies research and the specific issues that arise from translating Caribbean literary works into Finnish. The first subsection introduces the concept of the continuum of translation strategies, which is used to categorise the various strategies that translators can use in dealing with heterolingual texts. After this, discussion is divided into separate subsections for interlingual code-switching and spoken language, as analysis of these two differing types of heterolingualism requires differing methodology. In the final section of this chapter, the concept of cultural integrity is introduced, and some of the issues related to the politics of translation in the context of Caribbean literatures are discussed. The section discusses some of the issues arising from the global literary marketplace and the position of translated Caribbean fiction in both the global as well as the local Finnish literary industry.

2.1 Heterolingualism in Caribbean literature

The Caribbean archipelago is a highly rich region linguistically. Each community has its own makeup of various languages and language varieties, and multilingualism among inhabitants is more of a rule than an exception. For example, well over half of the population of Jamaica are bilingual in Jamaican Creole and English (Farquharson 2013). The colonial history of the region can still today be seen in its linguistic landscape, as in many Caribbean communities, the European languages of the erstwhile colonisers are used alongside local creole languages. Switching from one to the other is, for many Caribbeans, the natural way of speaking, and sometimes differentiating between the two can be quite impossible. Various diaspora communities, which have formed in places such as the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, have in turn formed their own ways of speaking and representing their cultural heritage through their language.

The rich linguistic landscape of the region is also represented in its literatures. Grutman (2006, 18) has coined the term *heterolingualism* to differentiate between the concepts of literary multilingualism and “real-life situations stemming from language contact”. The term heterolingualism will thus be used in this dissertation to refer to literary uses, while the term multilingualism will be reserved for discussions relating to the language use of actual language communities. In his writings, Grutman criticises the tendency of previous researchers to see heterolingualism merely as a means to reflect the reality of a multilingual community. The “mimetic qualities of multilingualism”, he argues, do not “exhaust the wide array of possibilities offered by juxtaposing or mixing languages in literature” (Grutman 2006, 18–19). Thus, even though the heterolingualism of a literary work may be inspired and influenced by the multilingual reality of a specific speech community, the heterolingual literary work cannot be said to wholly correspond with that reality; rather it creates an illusion of correspondence. Moreover, there are instances of heterolingualism where no such illusion is even attempted. In terms of the Caribbean literary works discussed in this dissertation, however, the heterolingual representation is affected by the linguistic background of the author as well as the linguistic landscape of the speech community or communities in which the novel is set. In other words, heterolingualism in these works is used as a tool for the representation of culture and identity.

Various forms of code-switching are often used for the above-mentioned purposes. The works discussed in this dissertation are novels by Caribbean authors who use English as their primary literary language while using code-switching to produce heterolingual literary works. This section introduces some of the relevant terminology and previous research related to heterolingualism and code-switching and describes the different types of code-switching found in the materials.

2.1.1 Code-switching in oral and literary contexts

The terminology and theoretical models related to code-switching and other related subject areas have been studied actively for several decades. Researchers such as Shana Poplack, John Gumperz, and Carol Myers-Scotton have paved the way for later research in the field. Although the terminology used to study these linguistic phenomena was originally developed for the study of spoken discourse, it has also more recently been adopted in the study of written discourse. Mark Sebba (2012, 5) points out that applying theoretical models developed for spoken discourse to the study of written texts can prove challenging and constraining for the research; there are, however, significant points of commonality which enable the utilisation of these models for the analysis of written code-switching. In my research, these commonalities have to do with the ways in which code-switching in Caribbean literatures is used as a representation for their multilingual setting. Although, as Grutman argues, heterolingualism should not be seen as corresponding to the reality of multilingual speech communities, written code-switching in postcolonial literatures can be seen as a tool for emulating the real-life language situation in the text's setting. Penelope Gardner-Chloros (2009, 5) argues that the "characteristic ways in which bilinguals combine their languages in a particular community constitute a way of expressing their group identity". Code-switching and other types of heterolingualism thus have a vital role in the representation of cultural identity in Caribbean literatures.

The ways in which the term code-switching is defined differs significantly between scholars. In general, code-switching is the use of more than one code (language or language variety) within a single speech situation – or text, in the case of written code-switching. The types of code-switching that can be found in the novels discussed here range from single words in a foreign language to complete stretches of dialogue provided in a type of spoken language that is used to represent creole languages. The discussion below provides an overview of varying definitions of code-switching and how these previous studies relate to the heterolingual Caribbean works discussed here.

John Gumperz (1982, 64–66) discusses code-switching as a social phenomenon. He describes that a frequently found setting for code-switching is within a minority group where an individual speaks one language at home and one publicly. This creates a separation into in-group and out-group language use. According to Gumperz's theory, the codes used by a multilingual individual can be divided into 'we codes' and 'they codes'. He theorises that the "tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group

relations” (ibid, 66). He also describes code-switching as relying on “the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of *two distinct grammatical systems*” (ibid.). It is thus in the ‘we code’ that one can find many of the culturally specific elements in a postcolonial text, and preserving this distinction between the ‘we code’ and the ‘they code’ in translation becomes crucial for the text’s cultural integrity. One way in which this becomes apparent in the novels discussed in this dissertation is in the differentiation between language used in narration and that in dialogue. The various ways in which authors differentiate between dialogue and narration are discussed in more detail later in this section.

An ever-present issue in code-switching research is how to define what should be considered code-switching in the first place. In a multilingual language setting, where different varieties of language are mixed together in a highly organic manner, drawing clear distinctions between the different codes can be challenging. Carol Myers-Scotton (1993, 20–23) criticises some of the earlier theories for their tendency to define code-switching in a way that excludes single-lexeme items, labelling them as *borrowing*. That is to say, previous studies have considered single words in a different code to be loanwords rather than genuine instances of code-switching. Others further distinguish between code-switching and borrowing by classifications of assimilation, meaning that words that have assumed target-language inflectional morphology are seen as borrowing rather than code-switching. Myers-Scotton believes this, too, to be too restricting a view. For example, Shana Poplack, Susan Wheeler and Anneli Westwood (1989, 400) classify English items with Finnish inflections in English/Finnish code-switching as *nonce loans*. Some researchers, (e.g. Muysken 2000) on the other hand, have preferred to introduce the term *code-mixing* either as an alternative or substitute for code-switching. In her own theory, Myers-Scotton (1993, 23–24) rejects these categories, instead calling all of them code-switching. Gardner-Chloros (2009, 13), too, considers code-switching a catch-all category, covering all instances of switch regardless of their level of assimilation, as “convergence can occur at many different levels and it is not in practice always possible to decide where it occurred and where it has not”.

To analyse code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993, 75–77) has developed what she calls the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. According to this model, code-switching takes place within one frame language, the *matrix language*, which functions as the structuring language for the utterances. Code-switching then occurs when items from other languages, which are called *embedded languages*, are inserted within the matrix language frame. Thus, Myers-Scotton’s (ibid, 3) definition of code-switching is “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety”. When adapted to the study of written texts, the MLF model can be used to differentiate between the various codes

within a text. In this study, some variety of English is used as the matrix language in all of the novels, whereas embedded languages used can differ significantly between the texts. However, most authors use more than one embedded language in their works.

Laura Callahan (2004) has adopted Myers-Scotton's MLF model for her study of written code-switching in literary texts using Spanish and English. She notes that the main issue in applying to such written data a model developed for spoken data is "the two-dimensional nature of fiction texts, the opposition between dialogue and narrative" (Callahan 2004, 41). In her corpus, many of the texts contain narrative mainly in English and dialogue mainly in Spanish, which would suggest that the matrix language actually changes within the text. She continues by stating that the assignment of multiple matrix languages to a single text "determines what is then counted as a codeswitch, and what type of constituent the latter is considered to instantiate" (ibid.). In Callahan's data, this causes what she calls a *double classification*, as in the overall context of the text, dialogue can be seen as code-switching, but within the internal structure of the dialogue, there is a shift to a different matrix language and thus its own internal system of code-switching.

Ad Backus and Margreet Dorleijn (2009, 76–78), for their part, explain some of the key terminology of code-switching and other related phenomena through the notions of *synchronicity* and *diachronicity*. According to their definition, code-switching can be seen as the synchronic use of material from one language within the framework of another language. *Lexical borrowing*, on the other hand, can be seen as the diachronic process whereby code-switching becomes "entrenched as conventional words in the receiving lexicon" (Backus and Dorleijn 2009, 77). Similarly, *loan translations* are morphemes from one language that have been synchronically borrowed into another through literal translation, whereas *lexical change* can be considered the diachronic process through which these loan translations become a part of the lexicon of the receiving language.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen a very broad definition for the term code-switching, in line with the views of Myers-Scotton and Gardner-Chloros. The choice has been largely determined by the data, as most occurrences of interlingual code-switching in the novels are single-lexeme items. In terms of Backus and Dorleijn's notion of synchronicity and diachronicity, the diachronic process between code-switching and lexical borrowing is not a relevant distinction for the most part, as I will be looking at a selection of texts which can be considered synchronic instances of language use. It is often very difficult to determine from such a text where an item of code-switching is located in the process of lexicalisation.

Consequently, the definition of code-switching used in this dissertation is rather broad, encompassing a variety of different kinds of switches between languages and language varieties. However, due to the different ways in which the authors of the

novels – and subsequently the translators – tend to treat different types of code-switching, the instances of code-switching in these texts have been divided into two main categories, namely switches between different languages and switches between varieties of the same language. This division, then, is not necessarily determined by the language used in these passages but rather the way in which each specific language is treated in any given situation. What is here referred to as *interlingual code-switching*, are passages where the author or the translator treats the text as a foreign language. This becomes apparent for example in the use of italics in many of the source texts for the purpose of separating foreign words from the rest of the text. Most occurrences of this type of code-switching are single words, but they can also be longer phrases or full sentences. For example, in the following passage from Danticat's *Breath*, the Haitian Creole word *prodwi* for skin-care product is italicised in the source text: ““Your skin looks lighter,” said my grandmother. “Is it *prodwi*? You use something?”” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 160)². There is some variation between authors in their use of italics; a more detailed discussion on this topic can be found in section 2.3.

The second type of switch found in the novels, then, is one where creoles in the literary text are represented by English spoken language. In depicting the use of an English-lexifier creole in dialogue, the authors have used a variety of spoken English with some embedded prototypical creole language features in order to make the language appear similar to spoken creole. For this type of switch the term *spoken language* is used. Spoken language thus here means that the text contains elements commonly attributed to spoken discourse (both those that are closely linked to creole languages and those that are attributed to spoken language at a more universal level) that distinguish it from the standard variety used as the matrix language. For example, in the following passage from Antoni's *Carnival*, the protagonist William runs into an old acquaintance, Ganish Ramsumair, at the airport in Trinidad. Ganish's dialogue is portrayed in spoken language, which is a representation of Trinidadian Creole, whereas William, having lived outside of Trinidad, is portrayed as speaking American English:

“But you get through, eh?” he said. “And I hear these days you writing plenty book in New York. Plenty big book! That the place, eh? Book like fire in you tail!”

“Not—”

“Come, nuh man. Speak the trut!”

² I have used boldface in examples to emphasise points of interest. Any boldface found in quotations is thus added by me, whereas italics are found in the original texts, unless otherwise indicated.

I took a breath.

“I got my first novel coming out. In England.” (*Carnival* 2005, 77)

The differences between the languages spoken by the two characters in this dialogue can be clearly seen. The switch functions here to anchor each character to their cultural and geographical setting. However, using a spoken variety of English as a representation of creole enables the author to produce a text that will still be intelligible for a reader who is not familiar with creoles. Therefore, the use of spoken language in these texts is always an approximation of creole, constructed in a manner that is sufficiently close to Standard (British or American) English for the English-speaking reader to be able to understand it. Because the categorisation of each specific occurrence into either interlingual code-switching or spoken language is not dependent on which language is used but rather on the context and style of language use, switches into these English-lexifier creoles can be placed in either category. For example, in Naipaul’s *House*, Trinidadian Creole is used in both interlingual code-switching and spoken language.

As can be seen from the examples above – one containing a switch from English to Haitian Creole, the other a switch from standard to spoken English – the significance for the separation into two different types of code-switching within the novels comes from their very different nature. As the two types of code-switching are dealt with in such differing ways in both the source texts and their translations, the theoretical frameworks that can be used for the analysis of these types of switches must also be separated. For the first type, namely interlingual code-switching, my primary theoretical framework comes from the work of Dorota Gołuch (2011) and her continuum of translation strategies as well as Callahan’s (2004) study on written code-switching between English and Spanish. For the second type, the representation of spoken language varieties, my primary theoretical source is the extensive study conducted by Liisa Tiittula and Pirkko Nuolijärvi (2013) on how spoken language has been used in Finnish fiction, both original and translated works. In the following sections, I will discuss the theoretical framework for each of these types of switches separately.

Another relevant theoretical model is one introduced by Myers-Scotton (1993, 67–68), which she calls the *markedness model*. She states that in most cases the matrix language can be identified as the most unmarked language in the given context. Myers-Scotton does, however, go on to explain that there are also situations in which code-switching itself can be considered the unmarked alternative. As code-switching in Caribbean literatures is used to emulate an inherently multilingual setting, code-switching can be considered an unmarked choice. In a similar vein, Delabastita and Grutman (2005, 12–13) argue against using a term such as ‘foreign language’ in the context of heterolingual translation, where the monolingual norm of

the Western world hardly applies. Although English is used as the primary language in the novels under discussion, referring to embedded languages such as Haitian Creole for Edwidge Danticat or Cuban Spanish for Cristina García as foreign is misleading. If anything, it can be argued that these embedded languages are, from the perspective of the author, less foreign than the English they have used as their literary language. If foreignness is attributed to these embedded languages, it is done from the perspective of the reader rather than the author.

It is evident, however, that foreignness from the perspective of the reader is something that the authors are aware of in their choice of languages. As Standard English (in one form or another) is used as the matrix language for most of these texts, and as it is also the most predominant publication language in the region, Standard English is the unmarked choice of language in terms of the literary marketplace. In light of Callahan's double classification, then, Standard English could be seen as the unmarked choice for narration and heterolingualism the unmarked choice within the dialogue. The choice of languages and their use within a text is also affected by the prevailing literary tradition. As I will explain in subsection 2.2.3, the use of spoken language varieties (or dialects) has traditionally been restricted to dialogue. Taking this tradition into consideration, using code-switching, at least in the form of spoken language varieties, in narration would thus be more marked than using them in dialogue. This also becomes apparent in my materials, as in most of the novels, spoken language varieties have been restricted to dialogue, whereas Standard English is used for the most part in narration.

What must also be pointed out here is that code-switching is only one of many tools available for the Caribbean author to represent a multilingual community. In some cases, the author might choose not to use code-switching but instead use English even in those dialogues where the presumed language is something else. Ismail Talib (2002, 137) also refers to this type of language use in his work: "describing the language being used instead of actually using it may result in the avoidance of code-mixing or -switching altogether, at least on the surface level of the work". He notes that this kind of description may be preferred by some authors instead of or in addition to code-switching as the author "need not worry about the audience's comprehension of what is written" (ibid.). Describing the language used instead of switching between languages can thus be used to improve the flow of the text, if the author feels that excessive use of code-switching might make the text difficult for readers to understand. This is a technique employed for example by Naipaul in *House*, where spoken English is used for dialogue in Trinidadian Creole, whereas British English is used as a representation of dialogue in Hindi.

Callahan (2004, 122) discusses such language use and mentions that usually in these cases the techniques used "range from the strategic insertion of a word or phrase from the second language to a simple statement that another language is being

spoken”. Callahan mentions that this technique can sometimes also be used to represent English itself if the presumed language is other than English. She shows that, in her corpus of Spanish/English code-switching in Chicano/a literary works, many of the texts contain metatextual references to language and language use, which she has characterised as a “preoccupation with language” (ibid, 121). Twenty-three of the thirty texts in her corpus contain these kinds of references. In my materials, this preoccupation with language seems to be equally, if not more, prominent, as all ten novels contain at least some metatextual references related to language use. My primary focus in this dissertation will be on the types of passages where actual code-switching can be found, but reference to other types of heterolingual representations will be made briefly in section 3.1.

In the following subsection, before moving on to discussing the two different categories of code-switching found in my materials, I will briefly turn my attention to English as the matrix language of the novels discussed.

2.1.2 English in the Caribbean

The paradox of the English language as a medium for the representation of Caribbean cultural identities is a topic that has received much attention from scholars during the past decades. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin ([1989] 2005, 50) state that “post-colonial writing abrogates the privileged centrality of ‘English’ by using language to signify difference while employing a sameness which allows it to be understood”. Bertacco (2016, 191) argues that many postcolonial works containing more than one language should in fact be considered *translational*, as “technically speaking, the texts we read are neither bilingual nor multilingual, as they are written in English—or a variety of English—for the most part”. Instead of referring to these literatures as multilingual – or heterolingual – she thus advocates a perspective that sees Anglophone postcolonial works as English translations of a multilingual cultural setting. Talib (2002, 17), among other scholars, also emphasises that, in many academic curricula, “postcolonial literature” has become synonymous with literatures written in English, which he believes to be heavily attributable to the fact that “much of the early interest in postcoloniality arose among scholars specialising in literature in English”.

Chantal Zabus (2007, 4), in her seminal work *African Palimpsest: Indigenization of Language in the West African Europhone Novel*, examines the ways in which West African writers have shaped English in order to “indigenize” it. She refers to the use of Europhone languages in West African novels as the *third code*, which she

describes as “the hyphen between mother tongue and other tongue” (ibid.). The third code is a hybrid form between the European and the postcolonial, in which the Europhone language is fused with the structures of the indigenous language(s). Zabus’s term is reminiscent of postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha’s (1994, 37) concept of ‘Third Space’, which he describes as a hybrid construct between two cultures, “which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew”. Zabus (1990, 351) calls the othering effect of the third code, where the features of the indigenous language seep through into the structures of the Europhone, the *trace*, or the indigenous source behind the Europhone expression.

Such traces are also visible in the Caribbean novels discussed here. For example, Danticat’s *Breath* makes prolific use of Haitian proverbs, which becomes apparent for example in the following passage in which the protagonist Sophie is talking with Louise, an old friend, about travelling to America:

“It is very dangerous by boat.”

“I have heard everything. It has been a long time since our people walked to Africa, they say. The sea, it has no doors. They say that the sharks from here to there, they can eat only Haitian flesh. That is all they know how to eat.”

“Why would you want to make the trip if you’ve heard all that?”

“Spilled water is better than a broken jar. All I need is five hundred *gourdes*.”
(*Breath* [1994] 1998, 99)

The line about walking to Africa is a reference to the Haitian notion of *Guinin* (or Guinea, as she calls it in *Breath*), which Danticat writes about in more detail in an essay:

When they were enslaved, our foremothers believed that when they died their spirits would return to Africa, most specifically to a peaceful land we call *Guinin*, where gods and goddesses live. [...] The past is full of examples when our foremothers and forefathers showed such deep trust in the sea that they would jump off slave ships and let the waves embrace them. They too believed that the sea was the beginning and the end of all things, the road to freedom and their entrance to *Guinin*. (Danticat 1996, 140–141)

In the passage from *Breath*, Danticat uses translated English versions of proverbs that would presumably more generally be uttered in Haitian Creole. As the proverbs, such as the notion of *Guinin* or Louise’s use of the proverb “Spilled water is better

than a broken jar”, constitute a specifically Haitian cultural reference, they can be seen as traces of the indigenous Haitian expression behind the text written in English.

Although these authors use English as the language of their literary works, the English used by a Caribbean author cannot be said to correspond with that used by, for example, a British or an American writer. Edward Kamau Brathwaite ([1984] 2011) talks about the notion of *nation language*. The term was coined as a way of differentiating between the English of the Caribbean and the English of the colonial centre. In Brathwaite’s ([1984] 2011, 13) words: “English it may be in terms of some of its lexical features. But in its contours, its rhythm and timbre, its sound explosions, it is not English, even though the words, as you hear them, might be English to a greater or lesser degree”. Brathwaite’s ideas about English as used in the Caribbean resemble Zabus’s ideas about English as used in West Africa; both the Caribbean and the West African author has created something new, hybrid and expressionate from a medium forced upon them by a coloniser.

In their analysis of the use of creole languages in literature, H  l  ne Buzelin and Lise Winer (2008, 639) differentiate between two distinct types of Caribbean literature: what they call “texts fully written in ‘deep’ creole” and “texts produced for a mixed audience”, which use a European language (normally English or French) as their main language while incorporating creole in the form of code-switching. Buzelin and Winer (ibid.) argue that the challenges faced by the authors of these different types of literature are also somewhat different: “If concerns about finding publishing outlets and readership, about distribution and promotion, are central in the first case, the questions of how, how much, and where creole interacts with other language(s), be it French or English, are more critical in the second case”. The latter of these – which is also the category into which the novels discussed in this dissertation fall – is also linked to Robert Fraser’s (2000, 8–9) categorisations of different phases of postcolonial literatures, the last of which he has termed *transcultural narratives*. He describes transcultural narratives as works “in which the idea of the nation as a reference point for the artistic sensibility dissolves, to be replaced by something more fluid, and [...] personal identity is frequently both an object of rapt attention and a fluid term” (ibid, 9). Fraser further characterises intercultural narratives, as the name suggests, as works that “are very often addressed explicitly to the world at large rather than to a local audience” (ibid.). In addition to being published in greater numbers, this type of work tends to be the one that is more likely to be translated. I will address this issue in more detail in section 2.3.

In terms of the variety of English used in the novels discussed here, a shift from British English to American English can clearly be seen. Out of the ten novels discussed here, the three that were published before the 1990s use British English as their primary language. By contrast, novels published in or after the 1990s use either American English or a variety of Caribbean English as their primary language. This

shift perhaps shows the diminishing influence of the erstwhile colonial centre on the everyday life of Caribbean nations. However, the choice of variety is of course also influenced by where the author is located. Rhys and Naipaul spent a large part of their lives in the United Kingdom, whereas Danticat, Novas, García, and Antoni currently reside in the United States.

As was previously mentioned, although all of the novels use a variety of English as their matrix language, not all of them are set in locations or written by authors that are primarily English-speaking. Of the ten novels, two are written by a Haitian author, Edwidge Danticat, and two are written by Cuban authors, Himilce Novas and Cristina García, Haiti being a part of the Francophone Caribbean and Cuba being predominantly Spanish-speaking. Consequently, many of the authors discussed do not speak English as their first language. Yet all of them have chosen to publish (at least some of) their literary works in English. In section 2.3, I will discuss some of the implications of this language choice in more detail.

2.1.3 Code-switching in Caribbean novels

A common method of studying the use of code-switching in both spoken and written materials is analysing the functions for which code-switching is used. Several researchers have compiled lists of different discourse functions for code-switching. One of the most often-quoted lists is one created by Gumperz (1982, 75). He originally distinguishes six of what he considers to be the conversational functions of code-switching. Some others have been added to this list over the years. Erica McClure (1998, 133) lists twelve functions that are most commonly distinguished: “quotation, repetition, interjection, addressee specification, emphasis, clarification, elaboration, focus, attention attraction or retention, personalization versus objectivization, topic shift, and role shift”. Based on these functions, Callahan (2004, 70) has developed a set of eight discourse functions based on her data of written code-switching. Her categories are as follows: (1) *referential*; (2) *vocatives*; (3) *expletives*; (4) *quotation*; (5) *commentary and repetition*; (6) *set phrases, tags, and exclamations*; (7) *discourse markers*; and (8) *directives*. I shall be using Callahan’s list as a starting point for the categorisation of my own material, although not all of these categories are necessarily relevant for my purposes.

The style in which code-switching is used in each text discussed here varies considerably between different authors, and this affects the level of unfamiliarity produced by the switches. This level of unfamiliarity plays an important role in the reading experience, as it guides the representation of Caribbean cultures in the

novels. Elizabeth Gordon and Mark Williams (1998, 80) distinguish three different types of literary code-switching: (1) *extrinsic*, which means that code-switching is used to add local colour to the text without impeding the reader's understanding of it, (2) *organic*, in which the code-switching has been explained in order to help the reader understand what is meant by it, and (3) *political*, in which the code-switching has been left purposefully unexplained in order to force the reader out of their comfort zone. This type of division brings the study of literary code-switching very close to the intersection of Translation Studies; through controlling the amount of explanation given to foreign items in their work, the author can be considered to be adopting the role of a translator.

There are different levels and methods for explaining the foreign elements present in a text. In his discussion of Anglophone West African literature, Peter Young (1971, 40) mentions two different methods of adapting English to suit the postcolonial setting, namely *translation* and *cushioning*. What Young refers to as translation means, for example, providing a word-for-word rendition of a local proverb in English. No code-switching thus appears in the text, as an English version of the proverb is provided. As mentioned earlier, this is something that can also be seen for example in Danticat's works, as she uses Haitian Creole proverbs translated into English. Naipaul's representation of Hindi dialogue by using British English as opposed to spoken English – which represents Trinidadian Creole – can also be considered to fall under Young's category of translation.

Cushioning, on the other hand, means that code-switching does appear in the text, and the author (or translator) has added some kind of explicatory element to help the reader understand its meaning. Young (*ibid.*) divides the concept further into overt and covert cushioning: *overt cushioning* means that the explication is provided in the immediate context of the switch – such as providing a translation for it – whereas *covert cushioning* refers to an explanation that can be deduced from the overall context of the text. For example, in the following passage from Novas's *Mangos*, the author has provided a translation for the Spanish word *guajiros*: “What Arnaldo felt and why he gave his life to Jesus had been the subject of much speculation among the **guajiros, the native peasants**” (*Mangos* 1996, 9). This can be classified as overt cushioning, as the translation is provided directly in connection with the code-switching. An example of what could be considered covert cushioning can be seen in the following passage from the same novel, where a traditional Latin-American dish, *arroz con pollo*, is mentioned: “When the crowd dispersed, Arnaldo was ready to take his daughter home and, as was his custom on Sundays, lie on her sofa bed and watch the soccer game on Channel 41 while she prepared **arroz con pollo** or, his favorite, squid with rice and fried plantains” (*Mangos* 1996, 95). Here, no translation is given for the switch, but it is quite easy for the reader to infer from the context that it refers to a type of food.

Young's definition of cushioning seems to only refer to explanations that are added to running text, either overtly or covertly. Translations and other explanations of the content of code-switching can, however, also appear paratextually; for example, the meaning of a foreign word may be included in a footnote or a glossary placed at the end of a book. These methods do not appear very often in Caribbean works or their Finnish translations, but some instances do occur. Three footnotes can be found in the translations discussed in this dissertation, two in Siikarla's translation of *Sargasso* and one in Kinnunen's translation of *Song*. Siikarla uses the footnotes to translate the meanings of two English names (see 4.2.1), whereas Kinnunen's footnote contains contextualisation for a historical concept related to slave trade, with which Finnish readers might not be familiar. Kinnunen's footnote is thus not strictly related to code-switching but rather to a historical concept for which no Finnish equivalent exists. My definition of cushioning thus also includes paratextual materials containing explanations to switches. Additionally, I consider the use of italics for the purpose of separating interlingual code-switching from the matrix language text a form of cushioning as well. Italicisation will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

Although a useful tool in bridging the gap between the matrix language and the embedded language, the use of cushioning does come with its challenges. Zabus (2007, 179) notes that "the main drawback to cushioning is that the brief tag may not encompass the full cultural significance of the transferred item and that it may defer understanding or over-stimulate the reader's mind". Zabus does, however, use the term cushioning in a somewhat more restricted sense than I am using it here. She uses cushioning to refer to what Young sees as overt cushioning, namely "the fact of tagging a European-language explanation onto an African word" (ibid, 7). What Young terms covert cushioning, Zabus refers to as contextualisation, or "the fact of providing areas of immediate context so as to make the African word intelligible without resorting to translation" (ibid, 7–8). Therefore, her meaning here is that reducing complex cultural concepts and phenomena into short, simplifying translations or descriptions runs the risk of hindering the readers' understanding of said concept if they are unfamiliar with the culture being described. At the same time, Gołuch (2011) argues that excessive use of cushioning can be as alienating for a reader as leaving cushioning out altogether. "Excessive footnotes", she writes, "rather than illuminating a subject, may render it utterly exotic and obscure" (ibid, 201). Gołuch's take on various translation strategies related to postcolonial fiction will be addressed in more detail in subsection 2.2.1.

Other terms for similar types of language use have been employed by various researchers. For example, Janne Skaffari (2016, 214), in his examination of code-switching found in Early Modern English texts, has used the term *vernacular support* to refer to English translations of Latin code-switching. Arja Nurmi (2016, 234), in

a case study of how second-year translation students in Finland translated a text containing code-switching, has used the term *intratextual translation*. The scope of these terms is, however, slightly different from that of cushioning. Intratextual translation is, by definition, restricted to the types of cushioning that add a translation within the text itself. Cushioning, on the other hand, can also be used to refer to various paratextual elements, such as footnotes or glossaries. As for Skaffari's vernacular support, the term suggests a binary relationship of matrix language and embedded language, where the matrix language is considered the vernacular. In Caribbean literature, the distinction between vernacular and non-vernacular is somewhat blurred, as the authors might not in fact consider English their native language, even though English is their primary literary language. In addition, there are instances where the cushioning also contains code-switching. For example, in the following passage from Novas's *Mangos*, the narrator uses a Spanish phrase which has then been cushioned using another Spanish word: "And this being the case, Don Mario had to face it **como todo un hombre – that is to say, like a macho**" (*Mangos* 1996, 28).

From the point of view of translation, what also becomes relevant in the study of code-switching are issues related to structural differences between the source language and the target language. In the case of translation from English into Finnish, these differences can be quite notable. English is classified as an analytic language, meaning that relationships between words in English are mostly conveyed using separate words instead of inflectional morphology. In the case of creole languages, which are discussed in more detail in subsection, 2.1.4, the level of analyticity is often even higher. Finnish, on the other hand, is an agglutinative language, as it utilises a large number of inflections attached to stems of words to create meaning. As I mentioned before, some researchers have argued that foreign words inflected according to the grammatical rules of the matrix language should not in fact be counted as code-switching, a view which Myers-Scotton (1993) has criticised. She draws from the work of Willem Levelt (1989, 185–186), who, in his theory of language production, argues that different types of languages may produce different kinds of entries in an individual's mental lexicon. He further argues that for the speakers of an agglutinative language, such as Finnish, the mental lexicon consists of separate entries for the stems of words and possible affixes, with "access to *lexical procedural knowledge*" (ibid, 186). For the speaker of an agglutinative language, Levelt (ibid, 185) maintains, words are constructed using strings of morphemes which are not stored in the speaker's mental lexicon as such, as many of the various forms will most likely never be used in actual speech, but "they will be recognized as possible words, and they will be interpreted correctly". The mental lexicon of the speaker of an agglutinative language would thus consist of separate entries for the stems of words, "possible affixes, and a certain number of frequently used

multimorphemic words” (ibid, 185–186), which are then combined into speech using “a strongly developed processing component dedicated to *lexical encoding*, which produces new words as output” (ibid.).

Based on Levelt’s idea, Myers-Scotton (1993, 32) argues that, instead of dismissing the inflected forms of foreign words within an agglutinative language utterance as borrowings, they should be considered the stems of code-switching items with added affixes. This argument also relates to issues of translating code-switching and the categorisation of the translation strategies based on Gołuch’s continuum of translation strategies, which I will introduce in more detail in subsection 2.2.1. Due to the matrix language operating as the structuring language, code-switching items usually follow the grammatical rules of the matrix language. This supports the idea that, for agglutinative languages like Finnish, even inflected items should be considered code-switching, as inflections are required in order to adapt code-switching to the structures of Finnish. As will become apparent later in this study, most of the Finnish translators of the novels discussed here think of this process as such a natural part of the language that leaving code-switching uninflected was not even considered during the translation process.

Written code-switching can be, and often is, also visually separated from the main body of the text. This is one of the ways in which interlingual code-switching often differs from intralingual switches – for example the use of spoken language – as italics are traditionally reserved for interlingual switches. In postcolonial literatures, it has been a fairly common practice to italicise occurrences of code-switching in order to distinguish them from the matrix language text. A significant point to be made here is that the addition of italics might not always be the choice of the author (or translator) but a requirement dictated by the text’s publisher (see e.g. Callahan 2004, 103). Another important point that Callahan makes is that the absence of italics also communicates meaning in that it can be a deliberate choice on the part of the author, as “non-differentiation of the languages may reflect an attitude toward the [embedded language], or toward codeswitching between the [matrix language] and [embedded language], as being the manifestation of an unmarked code” (ibid.). Here we come back to Myers-Scotton’s markedness model and the notion of code-switching being classified as the unmarked variety in the context of Caribbean literatures. Using italics for foreign words creates markedness, making the foreign words jump out of the text in a way that creates a juxtaposition between the matrix language and the embedded language. The markedness of italicised code-switching is also the reason why, in this dissertation, the use of italics is considered a form of cushioning in itself.

In recent years, there has been a conscious trend towards renouncing this tradition of separating code-switching from the matrix language text with italics. For example, Evelyn Nien-Ming Ch’ien (2004, 209) states about the writing of Junot

Díaz, who has been particularly outspoken on the topic, that he “engages in the art of assertive non-translation, placing Spanish words side by side with English words without calling attention to them, without contextualizing them or grammatically indicating that Spanish is other”. This “assertive non-translation” thus falls under the third category of literary code-switching identified by Gordon and Williams (1998, 80), namely code-switching used with a political motivation. Díaz’s goal in not italicising his code-switching has been to promote the unmarkedness of code-switching and to demote English from its position of dominance. In his own words:

For me, allowing the Spanish to exist in my text without the benefit of italics or quotations marks a very important political move. Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world inside my head. So why treat it like one? Why ‘other’ it? Why de-normalize it? By keeping the Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to remind readers of the fluidity of languages, the mutability of languages. And to mark how steadily English is transforming Spanish and Spanish is transforming English. (Ch’ien 2004, 204)

Many other authors have followed in his footsteps. In my e-mail correspondence with Danticat (e-mail correspondence, 23 November 2017), for example, she mentions that after Díaz had published his first work without using italics, authors and editors alike became more open to the idea of removing italics from other works as well. The timeline of Díaz’s campaign for non-italicisation can in fact be seen quite clearly in my materials. Prior to the publication of Díaz’s debut short story collection *Drown* in 1996, all novels in my materials use italics for code-switching, whereas of the five novels published after 1996, italics are used in only one. Based on the interviews I conducted with the translators, the practice of italicisation is still very commonly used in Finnish translated fiction, and thus it would not seem that the campaign has influenced translations to the same extent it has influenced original works in the Caribbean. Rather, it seems to have had the unfortunate side-effect of actually reducing the amount of code-switching in translations; I will discuss this point in more detail in section 4.1.

As the number of interviewees I had for this study is quite small, it can also be argued that this tendency to italicise even today has more to do with personal preference rather than a general trend. There are examples of translated Finnish texts where italics have been removed. For example, in an interview with Heikki Salojärvi, who translated Nigerian Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* (1954) into Finnish in 2014, the translator revealed that they had discussed the matter with the publisher and decided not to use italics in the translation, even though they had been used in the original, “to draw attention away from the otherness of the Igbo code-switching

and thus make it a more natural part of the narrative” (Nurminen 2015, 54). At least some Finnish publishers, then, are aware of the trend and have embraced the changes brought about by it.

It would also seem that authors are not as keen in dictating the specifics of how their texts are translated as they might be about the details of their original publishing. As will become apparent in my description of the interview material in section 3.2, the Finnish translators were not usually in active contact with the authors of the texts they were translating. Danticat (e-mail correspondence, 23 November 2017) also states that she makes herself available to her translators if and when they so wish, but she does not make any specific demands concerning how the texts are to be translated. Therefore, it would appear that even authors who actively campaign against specific practices in their original publications do not always extend the same level of scrutiny to the translations of their works.

2.1.4 Creole languages and the representation of spoken language varieties

Various creole languages are among the most prominent embedded languages (alongside, for example, Spanish and French) used in the novels under discussion. They appear in both interlingual and intralingual switches; that is to say, creole languages are treated as both foreign languages and varieties of English, and instances of both types of use can occur even within the same text. Creole languages, in particular English-lexifier creoles, occupy a special space within these works. The fluidity of their use in a literary context is a representation of their fluidity in the context of the Caribbean language communities.

As was previously mentioned, most spoken language varieties in the Caribbean novels under discussion are used as a representation of a creole language being spoken. In linguistics, the term creole refers to a group of languages that fulfil a certain set of both linguistic and socio-historical categorisations. Creoles are contact languages that are formed in situations where a community does not have a common language and is thus in need of what is termed a *Means of Interethnic Communication*, or MIC (see e.g. Bartens 2013). There is some debate in the field around what qualifies as a creole language, but the archetypal example of a creole is a language that developed as a result of the transatlantic slave trade (see e.g. Deuber 2014, 25–27). In the Caribbean communities of the time, the population consisted of a small ruling elite speaking a European language and a considerably larger number of slaves who spoke a variety of mutually unintelligible African languages. Contact

between the African slave population and native Caribbeans also resulted in some cross-fertilisation.

This setting, where a small minority held power over a large majority, has been seen as the socio-historical prerequisite for the development of a creole language. During the era leading up to transatlantic slave trade and the development of plantation economy in the Caribbean, the numerical disparity between the ruling elite and the subjugated population was less pronounced, which made it possible for the workers to learn the European languages of their masters. This is referred to as a *cohabitation society* (Bartens 2013, 77). Through the introduction of slave labour to the Caribbean, the numbers grew so much and so quickly that the slaves no longer had the kind of relation to the ruling elite where they would have acquired European languages. This coupled with the fact that the slaves were brought from different areas, meaning that they had no common language to begin with, created the need for MIC, which led to the development of Caribbean creole languages.

In terms of linguistic categorisation, creole languages differ from other types of contact languages in several important ways. For example, pidgins are defined as reduced codes created for the purposes of a certain language situation, such as trade or business communications, and are thus only useful in a limited field (for a more detailed account of pidgins, see e.g. Parkvall and Bakker 2013). Creoles, on the other hand, are fully functional languages with their own grammar which can be used in all situations relevant for a language community and, as such, are spoken as a native language. Additionally, pidgins are normally formed from two languages, whereas creoles mostly contain elements from more than two languages. Some researchers have suggested that creole languages are formed through the process of a pidgin language developing into a more widely used language, but this theory has since been contested (see e.g. Mufwene 2001).

Caribbean creole languages, then, were formed in a contact situation where a European language, such as English or French, acts as the lexifier language – meaning that the bulk of the lexicon comes from this language – with the other levels of the language structure coming from various African or native American languages. Most creoles have only one lexifier language but several *substrate* or *adstrate* languages (Bartens 2013, 67). These other languages are called either substrate or adstrate languages based on whether the contact between said language and the creole is still active, which naturally has an impact on the nature of how the language affects the development of the creole. Typical substrate languages for Caribbean creoles include various African languages, which provide grammatical structures for the creole, whereas adstrate languages can be for example the languages of native populations which remain in contact with the creole language. In the Caribbean region, however, adstrate languages are quite uncommon, as most native populations died out as a result of colonisation.

The different varieties of a creole language can be categorised according to how much they differ from the European language from which they take their lexicon. As no clear boundaries are often distinguishable, the term *creole continuum* has been adopted for this phenomenon (see e.g. Bartens 2013, 76). The varieties of language falling on different parts of this continuum are termed *basilects*, *mesolects* and *acrolects*; basilects are the varieties that are furthest away from the lexifier language and acrolects are those closest to it; mesolects fall between the two ends of the continuum. It has been suggested by some scholars that creole languages have a tendency towards *decreolisation*, meaning that over time they tend to develop towards the acrolectal varieties and eventually assimilate into the lexifier language. This theory has been disputed and, although some cases of decreolisation have been reported, the consensus now is that this cannot be considered a universal phenomenon among creole languages (Deuber 2014, 10). The changes perceived in most languages relate to a fluctuation in the number of speakers of the different varieties over time.

The position of Spanish differs significantly from that of other coloniser languages in the Caribbean, as the varieties of Spanish spoken in the Caribbean region are so close to the European variety that they are considered varieties of Spanish rather than creole languages. Considerable debate exists as to why Spanish-speaking communities in the Caribbean developed in such a different direction. Many scholars argue that the main reason for this is the different social structure and relatively late development of plantation culture on Spanish-speaking islands. As cohabitation societies existed in these communities for much longer, creole languages never developed (Sessarego 2015, 10). Others argue that Spanish Creoles did exist at some point but that they later became decreolised (see Clements 2009, 68 on Bozal Spanish in Cuba).

The political and social status of many creole languages is quite poor when compared to the European languages spoken in the area. Creoles are often seen not as languages but as varieties of the lexifier language and as such are considered less prestigious. Most creole languages do not have official status and are thus in a subordinate position when compared to the official European languages used in educational systems and other official settings. Especially in communities where the standard language used is the same as the lexifier language of the creole spoken, people have a tendency to view the creole language as inferior. The situation is slightly better on islands where the lexifier language of the creole differs from the standard language used, as this makes it easier to differentiate between the official language and the creole. Even official status, however, does not guarantee prestige. This can be seen for example in Haiti, where Haitian Creole has been given official status, but French is still used in almost all official situations, even in primary

education. There have been campaigns in recent years to introduce Haitian Creole into primary education (see e.g. DeGraff and Stump 2018).

Due to the relatively young age of creole languages, their rich oral history, and their low social status, the level of standardisation in many creoles is quite low. Even when an official orthography exists, it might not be used very widely. In Jamaica, for example, the official orthography is mostly used by academics rather than the general population (Farquharson 2013). Sebba (2007, 86) reports that attempts at standardisation have led to debates where the issues are based more on politics and ideology than linguistic merit. The orthographic variance of creole languages is also represented in literary works using creole languages, as multiple spellings of the same word can be found within a novel. In Naipaul's *Masseur*, for example, a Trinidadian Creole swearword is spelled both "*Tonnerre!*" (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 99) and "*Tonerre!*" (121). Similarly, changes in the official orthography of Haitian Creole are reflected in Danticat's *Breath*; different editions of the book use different spellings for some Haitian Creole words. For example, the phrase 'my name is Louise' in the 1998 Vintage Contemporaries Edition is spelled "*Mwin rélé Louise*" (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 98), whereas in the 20th Anniversary Edition (Danticat [1994] 2015, 96) the same phrase is spelled "*Mwen rele Louise*". In our email correspondence (e-mail correspondence, 23 November 2017), the author mentions consulting various experts before the novel was first published and receiving varying recommendations, which in itself reflects the struggles of producing a standard orthography for Haitian Creole (for a more detailed description of the Haitian orthographic debate, see e.g. Sebba 2007, 84–87).

Buzelin and Winer (2008) provide an account of the history of the use of creole languages in literary works. They report that the first written accounts of creole languages were from the 17th century, but creoles began being used more extensively in literary texts only in the mid-19th century (ibid, 639–642). Poems, songs, and short stories were more likely to contain creoles than longer prose texts. In the early 20th century, creoles in the form of dialect were used in dialogue to mark a character's social or regional background. In some countries, especially in Haiti, this time is also marked by an increase in politically influenced use of creole in writing. As Buzelin and Winer (ibid, 642) also point out, due to the low societal status of many creole languages, the choice to use creole in literary texts is, at its core, a political one. Attitudes towards creoles within many language communities were preventing authors from using them more extensively.

Sebba (2007) also raises the issue of the use of non-standardised varieties of language being easily stigmatised. He writes that, for example in English, the use of dialects in fiction is often limited to humorous texts (Sebba 2007, 105). Although this has changed in recent decades, and the use of spoken language in fiction has extended to many kinds of texts, this stigma can be hard to shake, especially when

combined with the already low social status of creole languages. Fighting against these negative attitudes and the stigmatisation of creole languages has been one of the goals of authors choosing to use creoles in their writing. After World War II, as many writers began to migrate away from the Caribbean to England and the United States, where various diaspora communities were formed, the audiences for writing in creole languages also widened in scope (Buzelin and Winer 2008, 643–644). The following decades, from the 1960s to the 1980s, saw an increase in the number of works using creole as their primary language. Particularly prominent in this period was the Jamaican dub poetry movement (ibid, 649). The increased use also brought about changes in attitudes towards creole languages, although in the majority of literary works using creoles they were still confined to dialogue rather than narration.

Above, I already alluded to the tendency in Anglophone Caribbean literatures to distinguish between the language of narration and that of dialogue by restricting the use of creole languages or spoken varieties to dialogue, while using a standard variety of English in narration. Talib (2002, 137) also refers to this tendency in his discussion on the different ways of representing languages in text and argues that a distinction should be made between third-person narration and dialogue, as it “is in the language of the third-person narrator that examples of the description of language use, instead of its demonstration, generally occur”. However, this distinction, according to Talib, does not extend to the first-person narrator, who can be considered “virtually a character in the fictional world” (ibid.). Thus, the language of the first-person narrator can be closer to the language of the dialogue than that of the third-person narrator. In practice this means that interlingual code-switching is used predominantly in narration, whereas spoken language is reserved for dialogue. In first-person narration, these lines are somewhat blurred. This can be seen in Antoni’s *Carnival*, for example, where spoken language is also occasionally used in narration: “she was a West-Indian: she knew how to wine, to free-up sheself” (*Carnival* 2005, 176).

However, as the novels that are discussed in this study are in fact the types of works that are intended for larger audiences than just the local population of the Caribbean or Caribbean diaspora communities, the authors also need to pay attention to the intelligibility of their language to the non-creole-speaking readership. Talib (2002, 138) writes that due to this pressure for the author to balance between the authenticity of the language used and the text’s intelligibility to its intended readers, spoken language used for first-person narration is often toned down. In my materials, this distinction can be seen in the two novels by Antoni, namely *Folktales* and *Carnival*. In the above example from *Carnival*, it can be seen that spoken language does appear in narration as well as dialogue, but the language of narration is still closer to standard language than the spoken language used for dialogue. The first-person narration of *Folktales* is almost completely written in spoken language, but

here again the language is closer to standard than in the dialogue of other texts discussed.

Callahan (2004) addresses the issue of the authenticity of written code-switching. She writes that, in written discourse, code-switching is usually considered to be authentic when it is used in such a way as to mirror the use of code-switching in a real-life situation by characters that could be expected to use code-switching in their speech (Callahan 2004, 99). A character who is not seen as a member of the community that uses code-switching in their speech could thus be accused of appropriating the ‘we code’ of such a community. Of course, such an appropriation can also be used consciously as a literary tool. For example, in the following passage from Levy’s *Song*, a white man on a plantation mockingly mimics the slaves’ speech as he is dragging Kitty, the protagonist July’s mother, to be hanged:

The white man pulled on her hair to wrench up her head so she could see the three stiffened corpses swinging upon the gibbet before her. ‘You want freedom, don’t you?’ he said. ‘This is the sort of freedom we’ll give you, every last devil of you. **Sabbie dat**, murdering nigger?’ (*Song* [2010] 2011, 176)

Callahan (2004, 100) argues that this type of requirement for authenticity is “a byproduct of the practice of describing written codeswitching solely from the perspective of its oral counterpart”. This rule of authenticity would generally apply to code-switching used in dialogue, whereas in narration, Callahan continues, the requirement of authenticity is also extended to the author.

Due to the nature of the type of spoken language use I am referring to in this section, its occurrence is restricted to English-lexifier creoles. This rules out, for example, Haitian Creole, which is a French-lexifier creole. The purpose of using spoken language in these texts is to provide a sense of multiple varieties of language being used without making the text unintelligible. As was mentioned before, the use of spoken language in the novels is an approximation of a creole language rather than an authentic example of spoken creole. The spoken varieties used are reminiscent of acrolectal creole varieties, which have been constructed in such a way as to maintain their resemblance to the variety of English used as the standard variety sufficiently for an English-speaker to be able to understand it. The term ‘approximation’ has been used previously for example by Buzelin and Winer (2008, 638) in reference to the works of Ken Saro-Wiwa.

In order to create the illusion of a spoken creole, certain easily recognisable elements of creole grammar are reproduced. Buzelin and Winer (2008, 641) list some “creole grammatical strategies” that can be found in a variety of works using creole languages, from contemporary works to early dialect poems. From phonological features, they list the following:

the most widespread feature is the use of creole *t/d* for English *th*; often marked are *ky* and *gy* for palatal glides in words such as *kyaan* ‘can’t,’ *gyal* ‘girl, woman’; vowel lengthening, e.g., *kyaan* ‘can’t’; and *-in* (or *-in’*) where English would have *-ing*. (ibid.)

From morphosyntactic features, the commonly used features are as follows:

non-marking of past tense *-ed* and past participial *-en*; non-marking of third-singular *-s*; non-marking of the plural; expression of possession by word order rather than by *-s*, e.g., *the girl hand*; invariant personal pronouns, e.g., *she song* ‘her song’; zero copula with adjectives, e.g., *she tired* ‘she is tired’; predicate cleft, e.g., *Is tired she tired* ‘She is really tired’; continuous and habitual verb markers *a*, *da*, *does*; use of negators *ent* (*ain’t*), *na*, *no*, *doh/dont*; use of verbal markers *did*, *de*, *bin*; use of *fo* (*fi*, *fuh*) as infinitizer, e.g., *he want fi go*. (ibid.)

Talib also discusses the representation of spoken varieties in Caribbean literature. Features mentioned in his examples include various incongruent verb forms, omission of auxiliary verbs and changes in pronouns (Talib 2002, 138–139). Many of the features listed here are also used in the novels under discussion, which will become clear in the analysis in section 5.1.

From the point of view of creole linguistics, there is an issue with the above listings that has been criticised by several researchers. For example, as Angela Bartens (2013, 72) explains, many grammatical studies on creole languages, especially early ones, were conducted by European scholars from the viewpoint of European languages, and thus various grammatical structures that existed in European languages but did not exist in creoles were labelled as ‘lacking’. Thus, the use of terms such as zero copula are seen as Eurocentric approaches to the study of creole languages. The more recent alternative for such Eurocentric terminology has been to discuss creole languages as being highly analytical in nature, meaning that the seeming lack of inflections in verbs has to do with the languages using other means for creating meaning than inflectional morphology (ibid, 93). According to Bartens (ibid, 100), the most common “unmarked verb form of creole languages is derived from the infinitive of the lexifier language”. This corresponds with Buzelin and Winer’s as well as Talib’s analysis of written occurrences, as one of the most commonly found incongruent verb forms is indeed the use of the infinitive when other forms would be demanded by British or American English.

Reduplication is another common feature found in many creole languages. Reduplication can be used, for example, in expressing degree of comparison or continuous activity. An important distinction that should be made is between reduplication and repetition. Repetition has been shown by various scholars to be a

common feature generally attributable to spoken discourse. Repetitions can occur on various levels and for various purposes in different texts. Among the many global functions of repetitions, Nitsa Ben-Ari (1998, 2) mentions that they often “function as a simulator of dialogues or spoken language”. The crucial difference is that reduplication as used here refers to the kind of repetition that appears at the level of word formation (morphological repetition), whereas the kind of repetition common for spoken discourse (at least the type used to represent spoken language in writing) generally appears at the level of syntax. Both repetition and reduplication are found in the novels under discussion, but they are used for somewhat different purposes and thus also treated differently by the translators. This topic will be discussed further in subsection 5.1.2.

A more detailed description of the specific creole languages used in the novels is provided in section 3.1. In the following section, the discussion will move from the primarily (socio)linguistic matters discussed above to the implementation of Translation Studies methodology in the analysis of heterolingual Caribbean literary works.

2.2 Translation and the Caribbean novel

The previous section introduced some of the key aspects of heterolingualism related to Anglophone Caribbean writing. In this section, the aim is to place these works within the framework of Translation Studies. It has been suggested that postcolonial literature in itself can be considered a form of intercultural translation. Tymoczko (1999, 21) argues that the process of writing a postcolonial text is in fact quite similar to the process of translating one; she writes that the author of a postcolonial text makes similar choices in terms of the kinds of cultural elements to use as the translator of such a text would, the difference being that “where one has a text [...] the other has the metatext of culture itself” as its source. These similarities of process, Tymoczko (2000, 148) observes, “reflect back on interlingual translation itself, illuminating aspects of its revolutionary potential and its powers of cultural transformation”.

In her writing, Tymoczko discusses some of the challenges facing an author or a translator in conveying the intricacies of a text that deals with a culture that is not familiar for the text’s intended reader:

Not everything in a post-colonial cultural metatext can be transposed in a literary format; just as literary translations are typically simpler than their source texts,

so post-colonial authors of necessity simplify the cultural fields they write about. [...] The greater the distance between an author's source culture and the receiving culture of the author's work, the greater will be the impetus to simplify. (Tymoczko 1999, 23)

This process of simplification relates in part to what have been termed *translation universals*, which will be discussed in more detail in subsection 2.2.3. The 'impetus to simplify' on the part of the author also relates to issues connected to the publishing industry and the global literary marketplace; in order to gain access to an international audience, Caribbean authors often need to employ a kind of 'translational' style of writing, in which cultural concepts that could be considered foreign by an international reader are explained or toned down.

Bandia (2008, 12) writes about postcolonial texts and their relation to translation with a focus on African Europhone literature and notes that the African author is "engaged in a creative exercise which may lead him or her to borrow or draw from a real or imaginary original grounded in the oral culture of his people". Orality, then, is at the centre of what Bandia sees as postcolonial intercultural translation, as he sees it as "translation from an oral-tradition discourse into a written one" (ibid, 38). Often the concept of translation in the postcolonial context is viewed somewhat differently from how it is used in Translation Studies in general; Postcolonial Studies tends to examine translation from a metaphorical point of view as translation of cultures or power relations (ibid, 8) rather than seeing it as the more concrete act of transferring texts between languages. Bandia (ibid, 9) also maintains that postcolonial translation involves the "concept of hybridity, the creation of an in-between language culture", which mirrors the hybrid language setting of the postcolonial condition. This brings us back to Myers-Scotton's markedness model: what Bandia has termed the in-betweenness of the postcolonial language setting represents the natural multilingualism of, for example, the Caribbean region, where code-switching and language-mixing can indeed be seen as the unmarked form of language use.

Due to these similarities in the processes of writing and translating a postcolonial text, both the source text and its translation can be analysed using Translation Studies methodology. More specifically, what postcolonial scholars have adopted from Translation Studies is the notion of translation strategies. My definition of what a translation strategy is comes from the research of Ritva Leppihalme (1997, 24), who defines strategy as the translator's "problem-solving". Similarly, Andrew Chesterman (2016, 86) discusses translation strategies as "directly observable from the translation product itself, in comparison with the source text". My focus, then, is primarily on the observable end result of the translation process instead of the steps that the translator has taken in order to reach this end result. The following

subsections introduce some of the previous research on translation strategies pertaining to this study and discuss how Anglophone Caribbean novels as well as their Finnish translations can be positioned within the theoretical framework of Translation Studies.

2.2.1 Translation strategies and their study

When translating a literary text from one language to another, the translator may choose between various different strategies in order to reach different outcomes. Different strategies can be employed both at the global level – affecting the overall look and feel of the final product – and at the local level – affecting individual words, phrases or structures chosen (for a more detailed description of local and global strategies, see Chesterman 2016, 88). The individual choices made at the local level accumulate to form the global level translation strategy of each particular text. The global level translation strategies of a translator may vary from one text to another, as the strategies used are heavily dependent on the context of the source text as well as its translation. What must also be stressed is that not all of the choices are conscious. Therefore, when solely comparing source texts and translations, we cannot always be sure which choices were made consciously by the translator with a specific strategy in mind. In terms of the translator's actual work process, local strategies seem to have more concrete relevance than global ones; global translation strategies are a useful method for analysing the end result, the finished translation, but whether the translator has a specific global strategy in mind during the translation process can be questioned. In fact, based on my interview materials (see 3.2), the translators rarely seem to consciously employ a global translation strategy.

Strategies used by translators can broadly speaking be divided into *domesticating* and *foreignising* strategies. Lawrence Venuti (2008, 15) defines domesticating as “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to receiving cultural values, bringing the author back home” and foreignising as “an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad”. These strategies can be applied both locally and globally, meaning that both domesticating and foreignising local strategies can be used within a translation to solve specific problems, and – when analysing the translations – the accumulation of these local strategies can then be used to determine the overall global strategy of the translation. Consequently, domestication and foreignisation should not be considered mutually exclusive categories, a choice between one or the other, as varying degrees of both may in fact be found within a single translation.

In terms of Tymoczko’s notion of intercultural translation, where strategies similar to those used by translators are employed by the source text authors, Venuti’s definitions of domestication and foreignisation do require some adaptation. As any domesticating strategies employed by the authors discussed in this dissertation can be considered to be for the benefit of an English-speaking (non-Caribbean) readership, the author’s home is not where the text is brought. The strategies of intercultural translation are therefore employed with a non-native readership in mind; domesticating strategies thus transform cultural references in the text into an ‘internationally digestible’ format, allowing the foreign reader to enjoy the text without overwhelming trouble from what Leppihalme (1997, 4) has termed *culture bumps*, meaning “a situation where the reader of a [target text] has a problem understanding a source-cultural allusion”. Foreignising strategies, on the other hand, provide less in the way of such digestive aid. In other words, the author describes the cultural setting in their own terms, inviting the reader to put in the effort of finding meaning in the cultural differences instead of providing ready-made explanations.

The division of strategies into domesticating and foreignising can, however, produce an unnecessary dichotomy, which has been addressed in more recent studies. Based on Tymoczko’s ideas on intercultural translation, Gołuch (2011, 199) analyses Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* in terms of what she calls “an act of intercultural translation”. She uses Translation Studies methodology to study both Achebe’s original text and its Polish translations. For Gołuch, dividing strategies into domesticating and foreignising is not sufficient for the purposes of postcolonial translation. Instead, she proposes a four-part continuum of strategies: “illusionistic domestication”, “non-illusionistic domestication”, “explicatory foreignization”, and “estranging foreignization” (Gołuch 2011, 201; see also Kwieciński 2001). The following figure is a reproduction of Gołuch’s illustration:

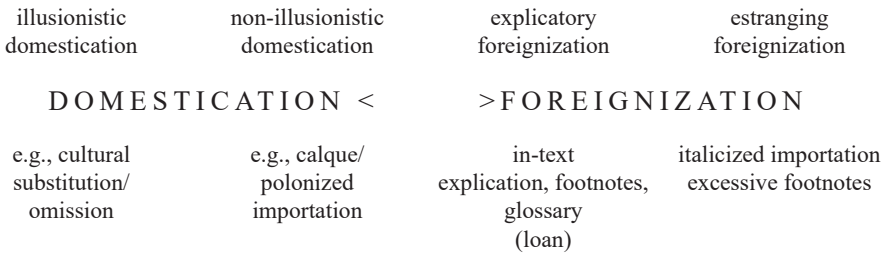


Figure 1. Gołuch's (2011, 201) continuum

Gołuch describes *illusionistic domestication* as the kind that masks the foreignness of the text, for example, by substituting foreign elements with those present in the target culture, whereas in *non-illusionistic domestication* the foreignness of the domesticated elements is still apparent. At the other end of the continuum, *explicatory foreignisation* means that the foreign elements of the text have somehow been made more accessible to the reader through explication, and *estranging foreignisation* refers to leaving foreign elements in the text as they are, without explication (Gołuch 2011, 200–201).

Some issues regarding Gołuch's continuum arise when applying her proposal to Finnish translations of Caribbean fiction. The primary issue comes from the manner in which Gołuch distinguishes between domesticating and foreignising strategies, namely that she seems to be relying on the idea that the aforementioned strategies would be mutually exclusive. I argue that there are some instances that can be found in heterolingual postcolonial texts where a specific choice made by a translator can be considered to be both domesticating and foreignising at the same time. An example of such a choice can be found in some instances which Gołuch in her categorisation has identified as non-illusionistic domestication, namely instances of code-switching that have been inflected according to the grammatical rules of the target language. In Gołuch's (ibid, 201) words, "non-illusionistic domestication occurs when domesticated terms are identifiable as such because their foreign origin is evident, even though they follow the conventional spelling, inflection, and pronunciation of the target language". With regard to estranging foreignisation, she also points out that when a text is translated into an agglutinative language, of which both Polish and Finnish are examples, leaving a foreign word uninflected strengthens its foreignising effect "because an uninflected foreign term frustrates grammatical patterns" (ibid.). In instances where Gołuch uses Achebe's original as an example of non-illusionistic domestication, the categorisation seems rather clear as there are instances where Achebe has, instead of using code-switching, produced a translated form of an Igbo concept that allows the foreign term to flow more easily with the English narration (for example the traditional cassava and plantain dish 'foo-foo', which mimicks the pronunciation of the original Igbo word). However, in terms of target language strategies in interlingual translation, the use of target language inflectional morphology should not, in my view, cause a foreign-language item to be categorised as non-illusionistic domestication.

Consequently, there are some instances of code-switching found in my materials that do not seem to fit any of Gołuch's categories seamlessly. This is mostly due to the highly agglutinative nature of the Finnish language. Based on what was explained earlier about Myers-Scotton's argument regarding the way in which the speakers of an agglutinative language process code-switching that has been inflected according to the grammatical rules of the matrix language, I argue that similar patterns can be

seen in the way in which translators have treated foreign words in the Finnish translations. Therefore, my argument is that the instances of code-switching which the Finnish translators have inflected according to Finnish grammatical rules should be seen as both domesticating and foreignising at the same time. In the following figure, I have modified Gołuch’s continuum with the proposed middle category:

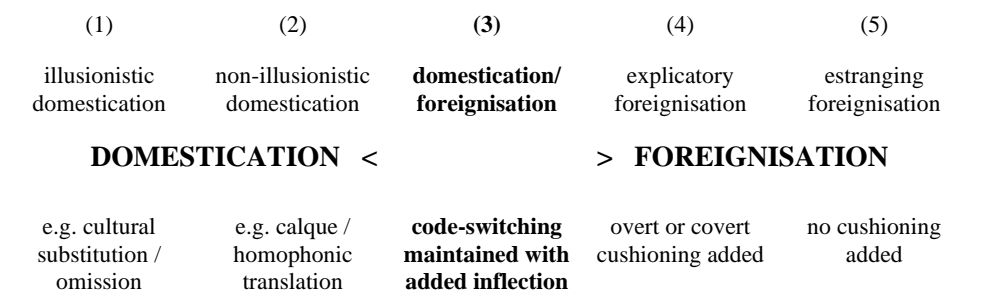


Figure 2. Gołuch’s continuum modified with a proposed added middle category

This added middle category that I have used in the analysis of my materials would thus contain instances where the Finnish translator has maintained the code-switching found in the source text but inflected it according to Finnish grammatical rules.

In addition to the added middle category, another distinction between my continuum and Gołuch’s arises from the differences in defining what counts as cushioning. As was mentioned in subsection 2.1.3, my definition for the term cushioning also includes the use of italics to separate interlingual code-switching from the matrix language text. In Gołuch’s materials, all code-switching was italicised, and consequently she has defined italicised code-switching as estranging foreignisation. In my materials, on the other hand, some authors (and translators) have used italics while others have, rather consciously, avoided using them. For this reason, I consider italicised use of code-switching to be better suited to the category of explicatory foreignisation, as italicisation in this study is considered to be a method of cushioning. The category of estranging foreignisation therefore contains unitalicised interlingual code-switching.

In terms of cultural integrity, Gołuch herself does not clearly argue for or against any of these strategies. In another article, focusing on the Polish translation of Amos Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (1952), she notes that “a partially standardizing strategy was used to facilitate understanding of the cultural Other” as using grammatically correct language in the translation “could lend the author credibility and pre-empt stereotyping responses” (Gołuch 2014, 162). Bandia (2008, 239)

suggests that the optimal choice of strategy would be a combination of domestication and foreignisation, which “accounts for the characteristics of the source language culture, while integrating the literary space of the receiving culture”. Bandia also draws from the work of Kwame Anthony Appiah (1993, 817), who suggests a strategy he calls “thick translation”, which involves “translation that seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context”. Appiah thus believes that a postcolonial translation should have an academic or educational side to it. However, as Bandia (2008, 236) points out, excessive paratextual materials can also “become cumbersome and distract from the main storyline”. This was also a point made by Gołuch (2011, 201), who writes that annotations often fall under the strategy of explicatory foreignisation but also stresses that when used excessively they can become estranging foreignisation.

Venuti advocates quite adamantly for foreignising strategies, although he does so from a predominantly global perspective. The process of translation, Venuti (2013, 11) argues, leaves behind what he calls “an inscription” through which the source text is “assimilated to receiving intelligibilities and interests”. If a trace, to refer back to Zabus (1990, 351), is what the author of the source text brings with them to the Europhone novel from their cultural and linguistic background, an inscription is what the translator, or rather the act of translation, brings into the target text. For Venuti, this inscription also includes decisions that are not necessarily made by the translator but other agents taking part in the publication process of a translation. Such a decision might be for example the selection of texts to be translated. What he sees as a global foreignising strategy, therefore, is one that goes against the grain of the established traditions of the target culture with the aim of paying homage to the cultural distinctiveness of the source text.

2.2.2 Interlingual code-switching and the challenges of the Finnish language

In all of the translations, most code-switched words are inflected according to Finnish grammar in situations where inflection is demanded by the surrounding sentence structure. A slight difference in convention can be seen between works translated prior to the 1990s and those translated after. In the older translations, whenever a code-switched word is italicised, it is only the stem that is italicised, and the added Finnish inflection is left without italics. For example, in the following passage from the translation of Naipaul’s *Masseur*, only the stem of the word *koortah* is italicised: “Hän ei ollut sonnustautunut dhotiin ja *koortahiin*, kuten olin odottanut”

(*Masseur FI* 1978, 14) [He wasn't wearing the dhoti and *koortah* I had expected]. In the newer translations, on the other hand, the whole word, including the added Finnish inflection, is italicised. An example of this can be seen in the following passage from the translation of Danticat's *Bones*, where the protagonist Amabelle's employer asks her for a cup of coffee: "Amabelle, voisinko pyytää *cafecitoa*?" (*Bones FI* 2000, 26) [Amabelle, could I trouble you for un *cafecito*?]. In this particular example, due to the word *cafecito* having been inflected according to Finnish grammar, the indefinite article appearing in the source text is also omitted.

Items of interlingual code-switching where target language inflections have been used in the translations relate to the discussion on Gołuch's (2011, 201) continuum of translation strategies and whether or not this should be called domesticating. She has categorised foreign words with Polish inflections under non-illusionistic domestication, as she argues that inflecting the foreign word brings it closer to the reader and leaving it uninflected would make it stand out from the text. My argument is for an additional category that can be considered both domesticating and foreignising at the same time, as the translator's strategy contains both foreignising (maintained interlingual code-switching) and domesticating (target-language inflection) elements. As mentioned earlier in subsection 2.1.3, the categorisation of such items of code-switching where target language inflections are used has been studied by Myers-Scotton (1993, 32). Her argument, based on the work of Levelt (1989), is that the speakers of an agglutinative language process entries in their mental lexicon differently from the speakers of analytic languages. Levelt's argument was that the speakers of an agglutinative language, such as Finnish, have a mental lexicon consisting of separate entries for the stems of words and their possible affixes. Myers-Scotton then argues that, due to this different type of lexical encoding, inflected code-switching, rather than being dismissed as borrowing, should be considered code-switching with added inflection. This would certainly seem to hold true for inflected code-switching appearing in the Finnish translations discussed in this dissertation. The separation can be seen most clearly in the older translations, where indeed only the part of the word that the translator has considered to be foreign has been italicised.

There are some instances where inflections have not been used in situations where Finnish grammar would demand them. These are, however, rather few. One such an example can be found in Sumari's translation of Antoni's *Folktales*, in a passage from Grandmother Domingo's story about Blanchisseuse and Hax the Butcher:

Still crawling around like a newborn babe on he hands and knees – but with the same sad, oldman's sigh dragging down he face – still searching in the weeds

beneath he oleander bush, two hairy **huevos**, and a cornstarch-plaster stuck up between he legs. (*Folktales* 2000, 42)

Siellä se vieläkin ryömii nelinkontin kuin sylivauva – naama venyneenä samaan surulliseen vanhan miehen irveeseen – siellä se vieläkin etsii ja tonkii ruohoa oleanteripensaan alla, kaksi karvaista **huevos** heiluen, ja sen reisien väliin on tungettu maissitärkkelyslaastari. (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 49)

The word *huevos* [testicles] here is already in plural form, and Sumari has decided to leave it as is (adding italics) instead of switching to the Finnish plural suffix.

The cut-off point for the changes with regard to whether italicisation is used for the whole word instead of only its stem seems to be in the late 1990s. This can be seen the most clearly in the three novels translated by Tamminen. Two of her translations were published in 1999 and one in 2000, which means she was working on them in very close succession, if not simultaneously. In the translations of the two novels by Danticat (1999 and 2000), code-switched words have been italicised in their entirety, whereas in the García translation (1999), only the stems of code-switched words have been italicised. It can also be argued that a difference in style between publishing houses, or indeed editors within publishing houses, can be seen, as the García translation was published by a different publishing house (WSOY) to the two Danticat translations (Gummerus). Of the older translations, in which only stems of words were italicised, the Rhys translation was also published by WSOY, whereas the two Naipaul translations were published by Otava.

The issue of inflecting foreign words according to Finnish grammar also came up in the interviews with the translators. Most of them seemed to view this as a self-evident choice and could not think of any other solutions that they would choose to use in their work. Indeed, the use of Finnish inflections for items of code-switching did not seem to be a wholly conscious decision for some of the translators but something that is so deeply ingrained in their language use that no other alternatives were even considered during the translation process. The question of the influence of Finnish grammatical structures on code-switching also relates to the matter of what kinds of code-switches are most likely to be maintained in the Finnish translations. This topic will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

2.2.3 Translating spoken language into Finnish

Translated fiction has played an important role in Finland throughout Finnish literary history. The use of spoken language in translated Finnish fiction increased considerably in the 1970s (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 325–326). There has, however, been a noticeable tendency for the language of translated Finnish literary works to be more standardised, “showing less variation than that of original Finnish works” (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2016, 21). This is also supported by the results of a comparative analysis of spoken language used in original Finnish literary works and translations conducted by Sampo Nevalainen (2003, 20). Changes over time have occurred in the spoken language used in translated works as well, but the tendency has been for translations to be slower to react to current trends than original works. For original Finnish literary works, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013, 232) identify the seminal works of the Finnish author Väinö Linna, namely the novel *Tuntematon sotilas* (1954) and the trilogy *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* (1959, 1960, and 1962), as the turning point in increased use of spoken language variants in literature. Regarding translated fiction, Pentti Saarikoski’s 1961 translation of J. D. Salinger’s *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) is considered a significant work, as it was the first translation that used slang extensively. Saarikoski’s translation freed serious writers to use slang and other types of spoken language in their work (Paunonen 2000, 41). The publication of these books also coincides with the increased urbanisation of the Finnish population, and many elements associated with the urban dialect of the metropolitan area have since become what can be considered the most unmarked of the features used for the literary representation of spoken language (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 232). Towards the turn of the millennium, spoken language variants were becoming increasingly common, and the use of spoken language elements spread from dialogue to also appear in narration and even entire literary works (ibid, 233).

Translating spoken varieties of language causes numerous challenges for the translator, because these varieties are often very tightly bound to their cultural and geographical location. As Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2016, 5) point out, “varieties of spoken language carry certain connotations and reflect cultural and social values”. This has been termed the *indexicality* of language. The concept of indexicality can be applied to many different types of language use; for the purposes of my study, it relates most clearly to issues related to the translation of spoken language varieties. For example, indexicality relates to the cultural and geographic specificity of Caribbean English varieties and how that specificity is affected when a text containing these varieties is translated into another language and another cultural and geographical context.

Michael Silverstein (2003) introduces the concept of “indexical order” in which any given level of indexicality comes with an immanent higher level of indexicality – which Silverstein terms “ $n + 1$ st order indexical” – blending into it. This creates a relationship that is “dialectically balanced between indexical presupposition and indexical entailment” (Silverstein 2003, 195), meaning that the use of an indexically charged language variant in a specific speech situation can be evaluated both in terms of its appropriateness for the context at the time of use as well as its effectiveness in providing further indexicalisation in the given context. Building on Silverstein’s concept of indexical order, Penelope Eckert (2008) introduces the concept of the indexical field. Eckert describes the indexical field as a “constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (ibid, 454).

Asif Agha (2007) discusses the notion of *enregisterment*, which is closely linked to the concept of indexicality. According to Agha (ibid, 80), the different registers of language used by individuals are instances of a “sociohistorical phase” which have been formed through the process of enregisterment, that is to say, the process of assigning “semiotic value” to certain expressions. The concept of enregisterment serves to highlight the instability of language varieties that was already addressed by Silverstein; any instance of language use must therefore be evaluated with regard to its context of use.

In connection to the representation of spoken language in translation, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2016) also write about some proposed translation universals. Translation universals are features that are generally attributable specifically to translated texts as opposed to other types of texts (for a more detailed introduction to translation universals, see e.g. Chesterman 2011). Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2016, 5) mention three translation universals that have particular relevance for the translation of spoken language: “standardization/normalization, explicitation and repetition avoidance”. Standardisation/normalisation means that spoken language in translation has a tendency to shift towards less marked varieties or even standard language. This can be seen both in relation to the source text – the translation using less variation than the source text – and in relation to the target culture in which the translation is situated, as compared to spoken language used in literary works originally written in that language (ibid, 6). Therefore, normalisation in translation can be seen to occur both relative to the source text and relative to the writing conventions of the target culture.

Explicitation refers to translators’ tendency to “add cohesive devices” (ibid.) that make the text more easily understandable. Explicitation as a translation universal is also closely linked with interlingual code-switching, as cushioning added by a translator can be considered such a cohesive device. In terms of spoken language, this can mean the kinds of additions that, for example, make spoken language –

which does not always follow grammatical rules – seem more cohesive. Repetition avoidance, although also considered a universal of translation, is in part counteracted by the tendency for spoken language to contain more repetition than standard language. As repetition is considered a common feature in spoken language, it would be reasonable to assume that more repetition is found in translated spoken language than translated standard language, although it is still often the case that less repetition is found in translated spoken language than the spoken language used in original works.

The tools used for the representation of a spoken variety of language can appear at all levels of language. However, several studies of translated literary texts have shown a tendency for translators to favour the lexical level over other levels of the language in creating the illusion of spoken language. With regard to Finnish translations, these results can be seen in studies conducted by Nevalainen (2003) and Johannes Schwitalla and Liisa Tiittula (2009), for example. Attitudes in the publishing industry also play their part in how spoken language is translated into Finnish. The general tendency in the industry seems to be that spoken language is tolerated more in original Finnish fiction than in translations, as many editors believe that readers expect a higher degree of standardisation from translated texts than those originally written in Finnish (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 261). However, as becomes apparent from Tiittula and Nuolijärvi's study, this is more an assumption made by editors about the readers' expectations rather than a proven fact. Nevertheless, these assumptions affect the way in which translated fiction is edited and therefore the conventions of how fiction is translated into Finnish. This, in turn, reduces the amount of spoken language used in translated fiction in general, which makes any translation using significant amounts of spoken language stand out.

Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (*ibid.*, 70) also argue that, although there are some universal features of how spoken language is represented in writing across languages, the language-specific manifestations of these features can be very different and occur on different levels of language structure, which can naturally cause challenges for the translator regardless of the universality of the features. Features that are commonly found in the spoken varieties of various languages include assimilation and shortening on the phonetic level, short sentence structures and ellipsis on the syntactic level, and colloquialisms and dialect words and phrases on the lexical level (*ibid.*). However, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (*ibid.*, 33–34) also stress that the most crucial task in creating the illusion of the spoken lies in the rhythm of the interaction rather than any specific linguistic features; the dialogical nature of spoken language is its most significant feature.

Harri Mantila (2004) has studied and categorised various features of Finnish spoken language in terms of their markedness and their use in creating speaker-specific discourse identities. In his category of features that can be considered neutral

due to their wide diffusion among various geographical regions as well as different social and age groups, Mantila (ibid, 325–326) lists various features from different levels of language. In phonological features, he lists the omission of the word-final /i/ and the omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/. In morphosyntactic features, he mentions using the passive form of verbs instead of first-person plural forms and the singular form instead of third-person plural. Concerning lexical features, he discusses for example the colloquial forms of the first and second-person singular pronouns *mä* and *sä* (instead of the standard *minä* and *sinä*, respectively) as well as the substitution of third-person pronouns (singular *hän* and plural *he*) with demonstrative pronouns (singular *se* and plural *ne*) (ibid.). Mantila also mentions some features that have not traditionally been seen as neutral but which have been spreading quickly in recent years. Examples include the substitution of vowel sequences ending in /a/ with a monophthong, the omission of word-final /a/, the omission of the weak grade of /t/, and the substitution of /ts/ with /tt/ (ibid, 326–327).

Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013, 41) have also listed spoken language features that they consider to be unmarked in a televised presidential debate. Features not covered in Mantila's list include the omission of word-final /n/; the omission of word-final /t/ in past participle verb forms; shortened verb forms; and the omission of the possessive suffix. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi also group the omission of word-final vowels into one feature, whereas Mantila discusses different vowel sounds separately (/i/ as neutral and /a/ as becoming neutral). Additionally, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (ibid, 43) mention different types of word boundary assimilations that are also considered a general feature of Finnish spoken language and thus not associated with any particular regional varieties. This means that, in order to represent orthographically the phenomenon of specific sounds assimilating into one another at word boundaries, these words are produced as one word in a written text.

In the materials discussed in this dissertation, the general tendency of the translators has been to use features of Finnish spoken language that cannot be tied to a specific regional dialect, thus achieving an illusion of the spoken without anchoring the text geographically. There are, however, also some exceptions. The spoken language used in the novels and their translations are discussed in chapter 5.

2.3 The politics of translation, exoticism, and cultural integrity

The central theme of this dissertation is the concept of *cultural integrity*. The term is occasionally used in Cultural Studies (see e.g. Gilroy [1993] 1996) and is here used

to refer to the degree to which the culturally specific elements of the source text are maintained in the translation. In Translation Studies, cultural representation in translation is often discussed through the concept of the ethics of translation, studied from many different perspectives in the recent years. Venuti, following in the footsteps of Antoine Berman (1992), has been especially outspoken about the ethics of translation. Venuti (1998, 11) argues that translating “can never simply be communication between equals because it is fundamentally ethnocentric”. To him, ethnocentric translation means the mystification of the translation’s “inevitable domestication as an untroubled communicative act” (ibid.). He suggests that translations should “restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation” as a form of “strategic cultural intervention” (Venuti [1995] 2008, 16). In his work, Venuti (1998, 83) discusses the concept of cultural translation through the notion of an “ethics of difference” which can affect “the reproduction of dominant domestic ideologies and institutions that provide a partial representation of foreign cultures and marginalize other domestic constituencies” through a translation that is “prepared to be disloyal to the domestic cultural norms that govern the identity-forming process of translation by calling attention to what they enable and limit, admit and exclude, in the encounter with foreign texts”.

This potential for translations to affect the ways in which readers experience foreign cultures is also addressed by Attridge. He writes about the effect that cultural distance between reader and writer can have on the reading of literary works, not as conveyors of cultural knowledge but of “a certain kind of *experience*, a pleasurable opening up to new possibilities that only art can produce” (Attridge 2011, 124). Attridge introduces the idea of “responsible reading”, in which the reader is conscious of the effects caused by the distance between the reader of a translation and the cultural context of the source text: how much is the experience of the text affected by the sense of otherness of the work in the reader’s culture, and what significance does this difference between the context of the source text and that of the translation bring to their respective readings? If, in Attridge’s (ibid, 118) words, “it is legitimate to capitalise on effects of inventiveness that arise from cultural difference, how can we avoid reducing the work to an example of pleasurable exoticism?” For Attridge, responsible, conscious reading is a way in which to create awareness of the cultural integrity of a literary work.

How, then, does this ethics and responsibility of difference affect the translator? Venuti has received criticism for his notion of foreignising translation; for example, Tymoczko (2006, 454) maintains that foreignisation is more appropriate for translation into dominant cultures than peripheral ones, which “are already flooded with foreign materials and foreign language impositions”. Foreignising translation strategies have also been accused of a level of elitism, being “more appropriate to a highly educated audience than a broad readership” (ibid.). Venuti has also been

criticised for vagueness in defining his terminology (see e.g. Ruokonen 2004). Similar criticism could also be given of Attridge's notion of responsible reading; can the translator of a foreign literary work realistically assume that the readers of the translation would adopt such an academic style of reading? Therefore, it is the translator that needs to assume the role of the responsible reader and make decisions on what cultural content to maintain, what to omit, and what to explain to the reader.

Kaisa Koskinen (2000) indicates various paradoxes in Venuti's approach to the ethics of translation. One of the points of critique Koskinen (*ibid*, 57) raises is the elitism of Venuti's approach, which she believes to be connected to Venuti's "insistence on the predominant status of literary translation". In her view, the possibilities of the Venutian foreignising literary translator to have any significant influence over the way in which foreign cultures are represented are very small. However, a limited scope of influence does not mean that there is no need for the translator of a culturally bound work of minority literature to be aware of the cultural significance of the work and act accordingly. As Koskinen (*ibid*, 58) herself argues, "morally, every 'I' is more responsible than any other", and thus from an ethical point of view it can be argued that no matter how small a translator's chances to influence the society are seen to be, this does not remove the translator's responsibility to take matters of cultural integrity into consideration during the translation process. What is more, there are also examples of works of minority literature that have gained a surprisingly large audience in translation, and thus it cannot be automatically assumed that such an occurrence is not a possibility, as the popularity of a specific book or a translation thereof cannot be accurately predicted beforehand. A good example of such a text is Sumari's translation of Antoni's *Folktales*, which has become exceptionally popular in Finland.

Bandia (2008, 235–236) discusses the issue of cultural integrity in translation through a translation strategy that he terms "sameness in difference" in which "the translation conveys the source language meaning through familiar expressions in the target language while highlighting the linguistic and cultural differences of the source text". The translator, then, much like the authors discussed in this dissertation, seeks to find a balance between intelligibility and maintaining cultural integrity. Bandia (*ibid*, 231) argues that postcolonial literature written in English "calls for translation strategies that are likely to carry across the subversion implied in the innovative linguistic and cultural practices used by the author". Consequently, innovation in the use of language, including various heterolingual practices, is at the heart of what cultural integrity is about. The Caribbean authors I am discussing use code-switching and other forms of heterolingualism to highlight various aspects of cultural significance in their work. The translator's task is to find ways in which to reproduce this cultural significance in a way that is palatable to the foreign language

reader while maintaining the essence of what is different and remarkable about the culture being described by the author.

In subsection 2.2.1, explicatory additions to literary translations were discussed from the point of view of the strain it can place on a reader; although some scholars, such as Venuti and Appiah, see foreignising translation strategies as a way to respect the cultural distinctiveness of the source text, for example Bandia (2008, 236) and Goluch (2011, 201) argue that excessive explanations can become cumbersome for readers. Excessive contextualisation and explication can also be considered a form of exoticism; when the strangeness of a foreign work is seen as something that needs to be softened and explained, the translator runs the risk of losing sight of the experience intended to be produced by the original literary work. This is also the essence of Venuti's criticism of domesticating translation strategies and a sentiment that seems to be echoed by many Caribbean authors as well. This is most evident in the non-italicisation campaign set in motion by Junot Díaz. Edwidge Danticat (e-mail correspondence, 23 November 2017), in our email correspondence, also said that her publishers have "thankfully" never insisted on a glossary.

Exoticism as an idea governs, to a great extent, the politics of literary exportation from many peripheral areas, such as the Caribbean. Graham Huggan (2001, 13) describes the notion of the exotic as a struggle "over the value of *cultural difference*". Exoticism as a system, he continues, describes "a particular mode of aesthetic *perception* – one which renders people, objects and places strange even as it domesticates them, and which effectively manufactures otherness even as it claims to surrender to its immanent mystery" (ibid.). This has a significant effect on the worldwide circulation of various types of literary texts. Huggan (ibid, 19) links the notion of exoticism to postcolonial cultural production through the idea of "commodity fetishism", which he describes as

mystification (or levelling-out) of historical experience; imagined access to the cultural other through the process of consumption; reification of people and places into exchangeable aesthetic objects – help these books and their authors acquire an almost talismanic status [which] runs counter to the postcolonial imperative to demystify 'foreign' cultures

Many different layers of the system of exoticism come into play when considering the process of translating a Caribbean literary work into Finnish. At the very beginning of this process, the author's choice of language can already be seen as a contributing factor; if the novels discussed in this study are to be seen, in Fraser's (2000, 9) terms, as transcultural narratives, whose intended audience is an international and intercultural one, the choice of English as the main language of the narrative as well as the addition of other local languages both feed into the mechanics

of the exotic. By choosing to write their works for an international rather than a local audience, the author is thus, in a way, already commodifying the work as a part of the system of the exotic.

Rebecca Walkowitz (2015) writes about literary works that are, in her words, “born translated”, meaning that they are written with an international audience in mind. She explains that such “works are written for translation, in the hope of being translated, but they are also often written as translations, pretending to take place in a language other than the one in which they have, in fact, been composed” (ibid, 14). According to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi, the ‘translatedness’ of a text may also play a role in the selection process for texts to be translated. When Tiittula was interviewing editors of translated fiction, one of them mentioned “does it travel?” (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 252) as one of the questions asked when a particular text is considered for translation; that is to say, is the subject matter of the text something to which Finnish readers would be able to relate? Texts that are ‘born translated’ could, in a manner of speaking, be said to be ‘created to travel’, and such texts would thus be more likely to be chosen for translation.

Huggan also discusses the concept of *strategic exoticism* employed by postcolonial authors. In Huggan’s (2001, 32) words, strategic exoticism is “the means by which postcolonial writers/thinkers, working from within exoticist codes of representation, either manage to subvert those codes [...] or succeed in redeploying them for the purposes of uncovering differential relations of power”. Just as the postcolonial author manipulates the colonial language to make it their own, the same authors have also manipulated the exoticising expectations of the publishing industry in order to affect the power relations within.

Various levels of exoticism, strategic or otherwise, can be seen in the discourse surrounding the reception of Antoni’s *Folktales*. Antoni’s novel has been used by various academics as an example of the effects of exoticism on the Western publishing industry. According to Eric Smith (2004, 5), after publishing the book, Antoni was accused by many “of abandoning the high literary aspirations of his prior novels and pandering to western tastes through an appeal to Caribbean exoticism”. Smith goes on to defend Antoni by arguing that the book should in fact be seen as a representation of strategic exoticism, referring to “subtle clues that point toward a subversive counter-narrative also at work in the text that forces us to acknowledge patterns of neo-colonial cultural consumption” (ibid, 6). On a similar note, Lucy Evans (2012, 143) states that Antoni’s text challenges “distinctions between insider and outsider positions, and between ‘authentic’ and commercialised culture”. Regardless of whether this exoticism is considered strategic or otherwise, it has certainly appealed to a very wide audience, especially, and perhaps rather surprisingly, in Finland. By Smith’s (2004, 22) account, the Finnish translation of Antoni’s novel has sold more than 10,000 copies, which in a country the size of

Finland is quite a feat for a Caribbean novelist. It certainly brings Antoni to the top of the list of the most commercially successful Caribbean authors in Finnish translation. This success even led to the second reprint of the book being published with the addition of a story written by Antoni specifically for his Finnish audience.

At the next level, we must consider the Finnish publishing market and the choices made by Finnish publishing companies as to what gets to be translated into Finnish. Although Finland does publish a fair quantity of translated literature, as a relatively small country with just over 5 million inhabitants, the literary market is also limited. From the materials of this dissertation, it can be seen that the older translations were published by big, established publishing houses – WSOY, Otava, and Gummerus – whereas the more recent translations have been published by somewhat newer, small or growing publishing houses, namely Like³ and Into. The three older publishing houses have been in operation since the late 19th century, whereas Like and Into have been founded much more recently, in 1987 and 2007, respectively. It thus seems that the publication of translated Caribbean fiction has shifted from big, established publishing houses to younger and smaller ones in the recent decades.

The politics of translation are also discussed by Johan Heilbron (1999) and Yvonne Lindqvist (2011). In his article, Heilbron writes about a “world-system of translation”, in which languages can be divided into “central, semi-peripheral and peripheral languages” (Heilbron 1999, 433). In this system, what gets translated into another language is dependent on the centrality of the language: “What is translated from one peripheral language into the other depends on what is translated from these peripheral languages into the central languages” (ibid, 435). Lindqvist elaborates on the topic using translations into Swedish as a case in point; she states that translations of texts originating from outside Europe would need to be translated into a notable European language before they would be translated into Swedish, a process which she calls “double consecration” (Lindqvist 2011, 140–142). She also distinguishes within Heilbron’s global system a Nordic subsystem, in which Swedish, as a semi-peripheral language, can be seen as a local centre (ibid, 145; see also Ringmar 2008, 746). This, then, would suggest that, in order for a non-European text to be translated into Finnish, there already needs to be a Swedish translation in existence.

A similar situation in terms of what gets translated and who publishes it appears to occur in the translation of African literatures into Finnish. According to Taina Tervonen (2007, 233), the majority of African texts that have been translated into Finnish have originated from French and English publishers. This means that most

³ Like was bought by Otava in 2005, which means that it no longer falls under the category of small publishing houses. However, at the time of the publication of the translations discussed in this dissertation, Like was still an independent publishing house.

of the African literature that gets translated into Finnish is the kind that has been written in European languages. She also mentions that the earliest Finnish translations were primarily published by large Finnish publishing houses, whereas in the more recent decades several smaller publishing houses have begun publishing these translations (ibid, 233–234). Tervonen notes that there appear to be differences between the publication practices of large and small publishing houses. She writes that, in the publication of Finnish translations of African literatures, the large publishing houses tend to be more wary in choosing texts that can be considered marginal and prefer to invest in “sure deals”. Smaller and younger publishing houses, on the other hand, are more ready to take risks in publishing texts by up-and-coming or marginal authors (ibid, 235).

In the case of Caribbean literatures written in English, the language is naturally not what causes the text to be peripheral; thus, to modify the model somewhat, instead of a linguistic periphery, we should be talking about a geographical periphery. In the case of Caribbean literature in Finnish translation, then, as was also noted by Tervonen, the process of consecration can be considered to take place during the publication of the original text, as the texts published by European or US publishing houses are those that are most commonly translated into Finnish. However, Lindqvist’s theory of Sweden functioning as a local centre for what is translated into Finnish only seems to hold true for the older translations discussed here. *Sargasso*, *Masseur*, *House*, and *Breath* did indeed have Swedish translations before they were translated into Finnish while *Bones* was translated into both Finnish and Swedish during the same year (Swedish National Bibliography). The other novels, on the other hand, do not appear in the Swedish National Bibliography at all. This lends support to Tervonen’s claim about the different approaches large and small publishing houses have to translating minority literatures, as the translations published by smaller publishing houses do not seem to be using Swedish translations as a yardstick quite as keenly as the larger publishing houses.

A third layer in the system of exoticism is naturally the translation itself; the translator may choose between various translation strategies, all of which affect the text in different ways. Here, we return to the notion of cultural integrity. In translating a culturally specific text such as the Caribbean novels I am analysing, the translator balances between accurate cultural representation as well as fluency and intelligibility. The various translation strategies used by the Finnish translators of these Caribbean novels as well as their impact on the novels’ cultural integrity will be the focus of the upcoming analysis in chapters 4 and 5. First, however, the following chapter will provide a brief introduction into the linguistic landscape of the ten novels as well as introduce some of the central data collected from the interviews conducted with the Finnish translators.

3 Materials

The analysis in this dissertation is based on a selection of ten novels and their Finnish translations. These ten novels were written by seven different authors and translated by seven different translators. A range of features was taken into account in choosing these specific texts. The authors of the works are native to various Caribbean islands or part of their diaspora communities. All the novels are also, at least in part, set in the Caribbean. A significant feature found in each these texts is naturally that they are heterolingual. Additionally, as was mentioned earlier, a common feature to all of the novels discussed here is their ‘preoccupation with language’, which provides further points of interest. English, in one form or another, is the matrix language in all of them, but each novel contains a set of varying embedded languages that reflect the language community in which the novel is set. The dates of publication of the original novels range from the 1950s to the 2010s, whereas the translations were published between the late 1960s and 2010s. The selection of novels includes at least one text from each decade within this time frame, thus providing a cross-section of Finnish translations of Anglophone Caribbean novels. It should also be noted that the selection of novels, although all written primarily in English, is not limited to the English-speaking Caribbean, as it also includes two novels by an author from Haiti, which is part of the Francophone Caribbean, as well as two novels by authors from Cuba, where the majority language is Spanish.

The range of Caribbean novels that have been published in Finnish translation is not very extensive, and thus the ten novels discussed here do provide a good overview of the genre. Since the 1950s, some fifty books from approximately thirty Caribbean authors have been translated into Finnish. These works have been predominantly Europhone novels (a few collections of short stories or poetry have also been published). English is the most common source language for these translations, with Spanish as a close second. In addition, there are a few translations from authors writing in French (such as Guadeloupean Maryse Condé) and Dutch (such as Surinamese Albert Helman). Most of the translations have been published in the 1990s and the 2000s, which shows a slight increase in the number of Caribbean works being translated into Finnish in recent decades.

It should also be pointed out that the selection of novels used for this dissertation is limited to the types of texts that can be considered what is termed high literature. This is due to the specific way in which language is dealt with in the novels under discussion. For example, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013), in their examination of spoken language in Finnish translations, have divided their corpus into three categories: high literature, entertainment literature, and literature for the young. Their findings show that the language of translated entertainment literature, such as detective novels, tends to be more standardised than that of translated high literature, whereas translated literature for the young uses more spoken language than either of the other categories (ibid, 571). The style of translation thus differs between these three categories of texts, which is why I have chosen to limit my study to one category. This leaves outside my scope, for example, translations of detective novels, such as Cuban author Carolina Garcia-Aguilera's novels *Bloody Waters* (1996) and *Bloody Shame* (1997), translated into Finnish by Jaana Kapari, or children's books, such as Gyanese John Agard's *Brer Rabbit and the Great Tug-o-war* (1998), translated into Finnish by Sinikka Sajama.

This chapter is divided into two sections, the first of which introduces the novels with specific focus given to heterolingualism. In particular, I will be focusing on those language-related issues that are closely linked to the various translation strategies chosen by the Finnish translators of the novels, an analysis of which will follow in chapters 4 and 5. After the introduction of the texts, the second section of this chapter provides an overview of the interview materials collected during this study. This interview data supplements the analysis of the Finnish translations.

3.1 The novels under study

This section provides a more detailed introduction to the novels discussed in this dissertation as well as to the various ways in which different languages and language varieties are used by the different authors. The section is further divided into subsections for each of the authors. The texts are introduced in a roughly chronological order by the dates of publication of the original novels. Although my primary interest in this dissertation is the various forms of code-switching, there are some closely related phenomena that also merit mention. Therefore, this section will also broach other such occurrences where the narrative draws attention to language use. This may relate to, for example, metatext on the status of a specific language in a community or the valuing of a certain language by specific characters.

V. S. Naipaul's *The Mystic Masseur* and *A House for Mr Biswas*

The two oldest texts examined were written by Sir V. S. Naipaul (1932–2018): *The Mystic Masseur* was published in 1957, and *A House for Mr Biswas* in 1961. During his long and productive career, Trinidadian-born Naipaul published works on a wide variety of subjects, both fiction and non-fiction. Naipaul was a member of Trinidad's East-Indian population. He left Trinidad to study at the University of Oxford with a scholarship (King 1993, 1). Naipaul received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2001. A true cosmopolitan, he moved around a great deal during his life, making the settings of his works equally diverse. For the purposes of my study, these two early novels are of particular interest due to their setting; they are set in the Caribbean and contain the type of language use that I am examining in my study.

The Mystic Masseur, Naipaul's first novel, tells the story of Ganesh Ramsurnair, who rises from poverty to become a successful mystic and politician. The comic novel provides social commentary on the Trinidadian society of the time. A struggling schoolteacher and masseur, Ganesh dreams of one day becoming a famous writer. As a mystic he manages to gain fame and prestige in his society, and through this he turns to politics, all the while keeping true to his dreams of becoming a writer. Later he does publish an autobiography by the name of *The Years of Guilt*, among some other smaller literary works. The novel is narrated in part by a man who had been a patient of Ganesh as a young boy. He reminisces about meeting the great mystic before learning about his true greatness. In contrast to the successful exploits of Ganesh, *A House for Mr Biswas* recounts a less successful life story. For the protagonist Mohun Biswas, the greatest ambition of his life has always been to have a house of his own. He fights through various misfortunes to achieve this goal. Mr Biswas is tricked into marrying Shama, with whom he forms an awkward relationship. In addition to the story of how Mr Biswas struggles to provide a home for his family, we learn about the relationship between him and his wife as well as Mr Biswas's disdain for his wife's family.

The primary embedded languages used in the two novels are Trinidadian Creole and Hindi, while the matrix language is British English. Trinidadian Creole is used both in interlingual code-switching and in spoken language. Spoken language in Naipaul's works is mainly used in dialogue, whereas interlingual code-switching is mostly found in narration. Trinidadian Creole is a creole language spoken mainly in Trinidad and Tobago; in addition to the approximately one million speakers on the island, the language is spoken in various diaspora communities for example in the United States and in Canada (Mühleisen 2013). The contributing languages of Trinidadian Creole are believed to be English, West Bantu languages, French, Caribbean French Creoles, Spanish, and Bhojpuri (ibid.). Creole does not have official status in Trinidad and Tobago, but it is used extensively on the island

alongside the official language, English, and Creole is used, for example, in schools as a language of education (ibid.).

The use of Hindi in Trinidad and Tobago stems back to the late 19th century, when indentured workers from India arrived on the island. Some 110,000 indentured workers arrived in Trinidad and Tobago between 1845 and 1917, around 85 per cent of whom were Hindus (Vertovec 2010, 229). Even today Hinduism is the largest religion in Trinidad and Tobago. Hindi is no longer spoken actively on the island, but many Hindi loanwords can be found in Trinidadian Creole. It is therefore arguable whether the Hindi words in Naipaul's texts are to be considered switches to Hindi or to Trinidadian Creole, although the linguistic landscape of the Trinidad and Tobago of the 1950s and 1960s was most likely slightly different from the current situation. However, as most of these Hindi words have been italicised by the author, they can in any case be considered interlingual code-switching.

Interlingual code-switching in the novels is mostly limited to single words in either Hindi or Trinidadian Creole. More significantly, Naipaul uses spoken language to represent characters speaking Creole. Of the two novels, *Masseur* contains significantly more spoken language in dialogue. The novel's protagonist Ganesh, as well as most of the other central characters, speaks Trinidadian Creole with occasional switches to Hindi. In *House*, most switches occur in dialogue between British English and a spoken variety of English representing Trinidadian Creole.

Subsection 2.1.1 discussed the notion of the Caribbean authors' "preoccupation with language" (see Callahan 2004, 121) that comes across in various types of meta-level references to language use. Naipaul is a particularly prolific user of such meta-discourse. In fact, in *House*, the switches from standard to spoken English are representative of interlingual switches, where British English represents Hindi and spoken English represents Trinidadian Creole. Thus, whereas the British English used in narration is indeed meant as English, the British English used in dialogue is in fact a translation of Hindi dialogue, which is explained in the narration. In addition to being the more prestigious language within the community, Hindi is also considered to be more intimate than English. When Mr Biswas marries Shama, he speaks to and about his wife only in English, because he believes Hindi to be "too intimate and too tender" (*House* [1961] 2000, 101). The feeling seems to be mutual between the young couple:

In many subtle ways, but mainly by her silence, she showed that Mr Biswas, however grotesque, was hers and that she had to make do with what Fate had granted her. But there was as yet little friendliness between them. They spoke in English. (*House* [1961] 2000, 104)

Because of their hastily arranged marriage and crowded living quarters, the couple are unable to feel intimacy towards one another. There are some occasions (e.g. *House* [1961] 2000, 148) when Shama speaks Hindi to her husband, but she often switches back to English, especially when she is angry. She does, however, mostly speak Hindi to their children. It is noted in the text that the children, growing up, are so much more used to using English than Hindi that, even though they do understand Hindi, they are no longer able to speak it (*House* [1961] 2000, 426).

Mr Biswas also feels resentful towards Shama's family, who did not keep the promises they made to him while marriage arrangements were being discussed. One of the ways in which Mr Biswas chooses to show his resentment is by refusing to speak Hindi in the presence of any of Shama's family members (e.g. *House* [1961] 2000, 118–119). Similarly, whenever one of Shama's family members is angry at Mr Biswas or wants to show contempt for him, they switch to English, such as in the following passage, where Mr Biswas has offended one of Shama's brothers:

It was a grave charge, and Mrs Tulsi held the boy to her and embraced him and wiped away his tears with her veil.

'It's all right, son,' Seth said. 'I am still here to look after you.' He turned to Mr Biswas. 'All right,' he said in English. 'You see what you cause. You want to get the family in trouble. (*House* [1961] 2000, 123)

Language choice in the novel is thus used both as a representation of intimacy between various characters as well as a means for specific characters to impose power over others.

Similar differences between the seeming prestige of different varieties can also be observed in *Masseur*. The protagonist Ganesh is considered an educated man in his society, and this also shows in his dialogue, as his speech is somewhat closer to British English than that of the other characters. British English in the novel is viewed as the prestigious form. However, Ganesh also believes speaking British English to be unnatural, and although he has the language skills for it, after a short attempt at speaking British English, he reverts to Creole:

You ready? The sky is very blue and I cannot see any clouds in it. Eh, why you laughing now?

'Ganesh, you know you look damn funny.'

'Well, you look damn funny yourself, come to that.'

'No, what I mean is that it funny seeing you so, and hearing you talk so.'

Rice was boiling on the *chulha* when Ganesh went home. 'Mr Ramsumair,' Leela asked, 'where have you been?'

‘Beharry and me was having a little chat. You know, Beharry did look real funny trying to talk good.’

It was Leela’s turn to laugh. ‘I thought we was starting on this big thing of talking good English.’

‘Girl, you just cook my food good, you hear, and talk good English only when I tell you.’ (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 66).

Even though British English is seen as the more prestigious variety, it is also seen as unnatural and pretentious. Michael Gorra (1997, 84) discusses the implications of Ganesh’s reluctance to speak British English, pointing out that it can be seen as a sign of both the history of colonial influence as well as a conscious departure from it, “the need for him to abandon the expectations of a borrowed culture and to replace them with standards of his own”.

Ganesh’s ability to use British English comes across in his writing. There are occasional excerpts from his published works, which are all written in Standard British English (e.g. *Masseur* [1957] 2001, 101). On a few occasions, Ganesh also switches to British English in his dialogue in situations where he wishes to assert himself as a figure of authority. He does this for example when he is attending a political meeting, as he wants to raise himself above his listeners, who are speaking in Creole. It is, however, apparent even here that speaking in British English does not come naturally to Ganesh, as he needs to correct himself: “Swami rose again: ‘Mr President Ganesh, sir, may I ask how you is going to give each and every one of we here three delegates, sahib?’ **‘It have – there are** hundreds of people who are willing to do me a favour.’” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 175). Speaking in British English thus requires much more effort on the part of Ganesh than using his native Creole.

During his work as a mystic, Ganesh also occasionally switches to speaking Hindi and has his wife Leela interpret his speech to the clients (e.g. *Masseur* [1957] 2001, 122). However, similarly to *House*, Hindi is only mentioned as the language used by the character, and the dialogue itself is provided in English. There is also a scene in the text where Ganesh is said to speak in “pure dialect”, meaning a form of Creole that is further removed from British English than the variety he normally speaks, in a situation where he is speaking to a young Trinidadian boy:

‘You and me is one,’ Ganesh said, still a little breathlessly, breaking into pure dialect. ‘God! Hear my heart beating. Only you and me see it because you and me is one. But, listen to something I going to tell you. You fraid the cloud, but the cloud fraid me. Man, I been beating clouds like he for years and years. And so long as you with me, it not going to harm you.’ (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 118)

Ganesh thus uses different language varieties in quite a calculating way in his work. The “pure dialect” he uses in the above passage can be seen as a sign of empathy towards the boy but also a conscious means of creating trust between a physician and his patient.

To date, ten of Naipaul’s novels have been translated into Finnish. Both *Masseur* and *House* were translated into Finnish by Seppo Loponen (1940–), *Täysinoppinut hieroja* in 1978 and *Talo mr Biswasille* in 1984. Loponen has also translated three other novels by Naipaul – *Guerrillas* in 1977, *Miguel Street* in 1980, and *A Bend in the River* in 1981 – as well as numerous novels by other prominent authors, such as Toni Morrison and Nadine Gordimer (Finnish National Bibliography). *Täysinoppinut hieroja* was the second of Naipaul’s texts translated by Loponen, and *Talo mr Biswasille* the fifth. Loponen has had a prolific career in translation, and he was already an established literary translator when translating his first Caribbean novel. For the translation of *Masseur*, Loponen received the prestigious Mikael Agricola Award in 1979. The award is bestowed annually for excellent literary translations in Finnish. Loponen received particular praise for his translation of spoken language in Naipaul’s novel (Kapari 2007, 62). Loponen has also been awarded the state prize for translation twice, in 1973 and 1980, as well as the WSOY Literary Foundation award in 1988.

Jean Rhys’s *Wide Sargasso Sea*

Dominican-born author Jean Rhys’s (1890–1979) novel *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) was translated into Finnish in 1968, making it the oldest translation in this dissertation. Born in Dominica to a Welsh father and a white creole mother, Rhys relocated to England as a teenager. She spent her life travelling around Europe (primarily England, France and Belgium), and only returned to her native island for a brief visit. Rhys did not receive much critical acclaim for her writing before the publication of *Sargasso*, which was to be her last novel (Carr [1996] 2012). *Sargasso* tells the story of Antoinette Cosway, the daughter of a Jamaican slave-owning family, who recounts the story of her childhood as well as her marriage to an Englishman who is left unnamed in the book. The story provides a counter-discourse to the English literary canon through its reference to Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre*. In *Sargasso*, Rhys creates the life story of Antoinette who, at the end of a course of events leading to the loss of her sanity, ends up as Bertha Mason, Mr Rochester’s mad first wife, who is locked up in the attic of Thornfield Hall. With this recreation Rhys has given birth to one of the cornerstones of postcolonial literature, which, in

addition to its intertextual links to a canonical English novel, has gained canonical status in its own right.

In Rhys's novel, different languages and language varieties are used in complex ways. The matrix language of the novel is British English. The novel is divided into three parts, the first of which is set in Jamaica, in Antoinette's childhood home, Coulibri. The second part is set in Granbois, Dominica, where Antoinette and her husband spend their honeymoon, and the third part is set in England, where Antoinette is forcefully relocated by her husband. Due to their different settings, each part also has a different linguistic landscape, and thus determining which languages the characters are speaking is not altogether straightforward. In part one, I consider the primary embedded languages to be Jamaican Creole and French. In part two, on the other hand, I interpret the embedded languages to be Jamaican Creole and what I will here refer to as Antillean Creole. Part three is primarily written in British English.

Jamaican Creole is an English-lexifier creole spoken by approximately three million people both in Jamaica and in diaspora communities in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, for example (Farquharson 2013). Farquharson lists Akan, Koongo, and Gbe as the contributing languages of Jamaican Creole. He also emphasises that the majority of Jamaican Creole speakers are bilingual, with less than half of the population of Jamaica being monolingual Jamaican Creole speakers (ibid.). As Farquharson explains, the different varieties of Jamaican Creole are said to form a continuum "with a variety of English at one end which is mutually intelligible with metropolitan varieties of English, and at the other end a variety which is historically related to English but differs from it in several marked ways" (ibid.). Other researchers, such as Hubert Devonish and Otelemate Harry (2008, 450), prefer to talk about diglossia, with Jamaican Creole and Jamaican English forming two separate varieties. However, it can be difficult to draw a line between the two. In the novel, Jamaican Creole is mostly treated as a spoken variety of English, whereas Antillean Creole is treated as interlingual code-switching.

The variety of French Creole used in *Sargasso* is somewhat more difficult to determine; I have called it Antillean Creole, which can be used to refer to a number of closely related varieties, for example Dominican or Martinican Creole. The part of the novel where French Creole is used most prominently is set in Dominica, which is also the native island of the author, but the character in whose dialogue most of the creole code-switching is found is said to be a native of Martinique. Therefore, determining the exact variety of language used is problematic. However, as these varieties are very closely related, differentiating between them is not crucial for analysing their use in the novel. Of the Antillean varieties of creole, the very closely related varieties of Martinican Creole and Guadeloupean Creole have received the most attention in linguistic research. Martinican Creole has approximately 600,000

speakers (Colot and Ludwig 2013). Martinique and Guadeloupe are both French Overseas Departments, which means that the official language on the islands is French, and French has gained ground over Creole among the islands' inhabitants over the past decades (ibid.). Dominican Creole is a less-studied variety of French-lexifier creole that is also closely related to the creoles spoken on Martinique and Guadeloupe.

As mentioned, the linguistic landscape in *Sargasso* differs slightly for each of the three separate parts of the novel, as the different parts are set in different locations: part one in Jamaica, part two in Dominica, and part three in England. In addition to these three islands on which the story is set, some of the characters are stated to be native to other islands. The languages spoken by the characters are not always named, and thus determining which languages the author is representing in dialogue becomes rather complicated. However, as the two characters in whose dialogue we find most of the spoken language in the novel – namely Christophine and Daniel – have ties to Jamaica, Jamaican Creole is used as the basis for the analysis. The analysis of the use of spoken language in the novel will be based primarily on the dialogue of these two characters, mainly due to the fact that other characters using spoken language in the novel are not given enough voice to enable a proper determination of their style of speech.

Christophine, Antoinette's nurse, is native to Martinique, but she is said to mimic the speech patterns of the Jamaicans around her in order to fit in. Antoinette describes Christophine's language use as follows: "though she could speak good English if she wanted to, and French as well as patois, she took care to talk as they talked" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 18). It is unclear whether the "patois" Antoinette is referring to here is Jamaican Creole or perhaps Christophine's presumable native language, Martinican Creole. The word "patois" is also used in Antoinette's husband's narration in part two, when he calls the language spoken by the locals in Dominica "the debased French patois they use in this island" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 57). Here, the language spoken is presumably Dominican Creole. However, as these two varieties of French Creole are very closely related, I am treating them as a single language under the label Antillean Creole (see e.g. Baptista 2004).

Daniel, who is native to Jamaica and claims to be Antoinette's half-brother, the offspring of a slave woman Antoinette's father had abused, has relocated to Dominica and lives in a house near Granbois, where Antoinette and her husband spend their honeymoon. In her article, Rocío Sumillera (2008, 33) claims that Daniel's speech is closer to British English than that of Christophine. However, drawing such a distinction might not be altogether straightforward. As we get a much wider range of dialogue from Christophine than from Daniel, it may not be possible to make such a determination. Daniel considers himself an educated man and consciously tries to speak a variety as close to Standard British English as possible.

In the novel, Daniel is only depicted speaking with Antoinette's husband, an Englishman, in whose company he would surely wish to present himself in a sophisticated manner. The repertoire of Daniel's dialogue is thus limited to what should be considered his highest register.

With Christophine, we get a much wider range of varying situations of language use. We learn that Christophine "could speak good English if she wanted to, and French as well as patois" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 18), and that she switches between the various languages depending on the addressee. In the following passage, Christophine is recounting a story to Antoinette's husband. We can see several varieties within the dialogue, as Christophine switches between what can be characterised as an acrolect, a mesolect, and British English:

'One night,' she went on, 'I hold on a woman's nose because her husband nearly chop it off with his machete. I hold it on, I send a boy running for the doctor and the doctor come galloping at dead of night to sew up the woman. When he finish he tell me, "Christophine you have a great presence of mind." That's what he tell me. By this time the man crying like a baby. He says, "Doctor I don't mean it. It just happened." "I know, Rupert," the doctor says, "but it mustn't happen again. Why don't you keep the damn machete in the other room?" he says. They have two small rooms only so I say, "No doctor – it much worse near the bed. They chop each other up in no time at all." The doctor laugh and laugh. Oh he was a good doctor. When he finished with that woman nose I won't say it look like before but I will say it don't notice much. (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 125)

The main part of the story is told in Christophine's most commonly used variant, which could be considered to be a representation of an acrolectal variety of Jamaican Creole, as it is fairly close to the British English used as the standard variety in the novel. However, when she recounts what the different people in the story had said, she switches first to British English to represent the speech of the doctor and then to what could be considered a mesolectal variety of Jamaican Creole, which is used for the speech of the abusive husband as well as for Christophine's own speech when she addresses the doctor. Here, we can thus see a difference in the ways in which Christophine herself speaks, on the one hand, when addressing Antoinette's husband, a stranger towards whom she has shown open animosity, and on the other hand, when addressing a doctor with whom she is familiar and whom she clearly respects. Christophine thus uses a variety closer to British English as an attempt to balance the power-relation between herself and Antoinette's husband.

The protagonist Antoinette herself mostly speaks in British English, and this is indeed what can be found in her dialogue, but there are occasions where she, as the narrator, also uses spoken language varieties. Although spoken language is mostly

reserved for dialogue, it occasionally seeps through into Antoinette's narration when she is reporting what others have said. For example, in part one, Antoinette is recalling a fight she had with her childhood friend, Tia, and reports her words in Jamaican Creole:

She hear all we poor like beggar. We ate salt fish – no money for fresh fish. That old house so leaky, you run with calabash to catch water when it rain. Plenty white people in Jamaica. Real white people, they got gold money. They didn't look at us, nobody see them come near us. Old time white people nothing but white nigger now, and black nigger better than white nigger. (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 21)

In this passage, then, Antoinette's narration uses a similar variety of spoken language to what is used in the dialogue of several characters in the text. These types of switches related to reported speech relate to the notion of authenticity of code-switching discussed by Callahan (2004, 99); as Antoinette is a white creole character and native to the Caribbean, the use of spoken language in her narration can be considered an authentic use of code-switching, whereas in the husband's narration this would not be the case, because he is a British character and neither native to nor familiar with the island where the novel is set.

Prestige differences between various local language varieties can also be observed in *Sargasso*. The value placed on specific language varieties depends on the origins of each character. Antoinette's husband, as an Englishman, shows contempt towards creole languages and considers them "debased" versions of British English or French. In the parts of the text narrated by him, there is occasional commentary on the language use of other characters (e.g. *Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 57; 61). Christophine is also shunned by local women in Jamaica because of her Martinican heritage, and she changes her speech to mirror theirs as an attempt to integrate into the Jamaican society. She does, however, occasionally switch to her native language, especially when addressing Antoinette, as many of the Martinican Creole words she uses are terms of endearment, such as *doudou* or *ché cocotte* (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 61).

As can be seen above, heterolingualism in *Sargasso* comes across most clearly in the spoken language used in dialogue as a representation of Jamaican Creole. There is, however, also occasional interlingual code-switching to other creoles as well as French. These are mostly single words or phrases with occasional longer stretches in the form of lyrics to old nursery rhymes Antoinette remembers hearing as a child, for example. In the following passage, the names of two songs are mentioned, one in French and one in Antillean Creole: "*Adieu foulard, adieu madras, or Ma belle ka di maman li*. My beautiful girl said to her mother" (*Sargasso* [1966]

2000, 76). Interlingual code-switching is used mostly in passages dealing with Antoinette and Christophine.

Sargasso was translated into Finnish in 1968 by Eva Siikarla (1943–) under the name *Siintää Sargassomeri*. This was one of the first literary translations published by Siikarla, made very early in her career. Siikarla has translated numerous titles by prominent authors such as Agatha Christie, Margaret Drabble, and Doris Lessing; all in all, she has translated around 100 titles during her career (Finnish National Bibliography). She has received several awards for her work, such as the state prize for translation in 1984 and the WSOY Literary Foundation Award in 2011. She retired from translation in 2012.

Edwidge Danticat's *Breath, Eyes, Memory* and *The Farming of Bones*

Edwidge Danticat (1969–) is a Haitian author whose works have been awarded several prestigious prizes. Born in Port-au-Prince, Danticat spent her early childhood in Haiti and immigrated to the United States at the age of 12. She studied French literature in Barnard College in New York and creative writing at Brown University, graduating in 1993. Her debut novel, *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (1994), was selected for the Oprah Book Club in 1998, and her novel *The Farming of Bones* (1998) was awarded an American Book Award for fiction in 1999.

In her writing, Danticat draws heavily from her personal life as well as the history and cultural heritage of Haiti. Her debut novel *Breath, Eyes, Memory* tells the story of Sophie Caco who, after having been raised in Haiti by her aunt, is sent to New York to be reunited with her mother at the age of twelve. Sophie's story combines a painful mother-daughter relationship with an account of Haitian history and culture in a vibrant narrative. Haitian historical events are looked at even more closely in *The Farming of Bones*, which is based on the events of October 1937, when a large number of Haitians were massacred in the Dominican Republic by the order of President Rafael Trujillo. The estimates on the actual number of victims vary considerably; for example, Richard Lee Turits (2002, 590–591) cites various estimates that range from 12,168 to over 20,000. The novel tells the story of Amabelle, a Haitian immigrant worker, who witnesses and tries to escape from the atrocities.

American English is used as the matrix language in both novels, and Haitian Creole is a major embedded language in both. In *Bones*, the other primary embedded language is Spanish. Haitian Creole is a French-lexifier creole. In addition to the lexifier, the following languages are believed to contribute to Haitian Creole: West-African Kwa languages, Central African Bantu languages, Spanish, English, and

Amerindian languages (Fattier 2013). With its approximately 11 million speakers, both in Haiti and in various diaspora communities, it is the largest creole language in the world (ibid.). It is also one of the few creole languages that have been given the status of an official language; Haitian Creole is one of the two official languages of Haiti, alongside French. Despite its official status, however, the language is not very highly respected even by its speakers. According to Fattier, “the majority of official administrative texts are in French, with only a few bilingual exceptions” (ibid.), even though a vast majority of the country’s population are monolingual Haitian Creole speakers.

Code-switching in Danticat’s works is mostly limited to single words and phrases, but some short sentences do also occur. As Haitian Creole is a French-lexifier language, spoken English is not used as a representation of creole in Danticat’s works. There are, however, some indications of the author’s linguistic background in the style of language used, especially in dialogue between characters whose native language is Haitian Creole. In many cases, sentence structures appear to be reminiscent of Haitian Creole or French, which is perhaps a way for Danticat to represent the implied language of Haitian Creole within English language dialogue. This can be seen, for example, in the following comment made by Sophie’s aunt: “Before pulling away, the driver turned his head and complimented us on our very clean yard. ““My child, she cleans it,” Tante Atie said” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 31). Code-switching in general is used quite sparingly. Most cases in which characters are speaking a language other than English to each other are thus written in English, but on occasion the actual language being spoken is mentioned in the text.

Danticat uses code-switching as well as other types of heterolingual expression to create multiple layers of language in her works. For example, there are passages in *Breath* where English is treated as if it were a foreign language. Even though the bulk of the text is written in American English, the implied language used by the characters is, for the most part, Haitian Creole. Consequently, for these characters, English is a second language. In the following passage, for example, the protagonist Sophie has recently moved to New York to live with her mother, and she reflects on her language learning process as she is trying to learn English:

The first English words I read sounded like rocks falling in a stream. Then very slowly things began to take on some meaning. There were words that I heard often. Words that jump out of New York Creole conversations, like the last kernel in a cooling popcorn machine. Words, among others, like *TV*, *building*, *feeling*, which Marc and my mother used even when they were in the middle of a heated political discussion in Creole. *Mwin gin yon feeling. I have a feeling*

Haiti will get back on its feet one day, but I'll be dead before it happens. My mother, always the pessimist.

There were other words that helped too, words that looked almost the same in French, but were pronounced differently in English: *nationality, alien, race, enemy, date, present*. These and other words gave me a context for the rest that I did not understand. (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 66)

Here, then, the multiple layers of code-switching and heterolingualism in the novel can be seen. The English words that Sophie is learning have been placed in italics in the text; they are thus treated in the same way as interlingual code-switching even though the actual language of the text does not change. There is also a sentence in this passage where Sophie gives an example of the English word 'feeling' being used in a Haitian Creole sentence. There is thus code-switching into English embedded within code-switching into Haitian Creole.

This passage can also be considered an example of what Callahan (2004, 42) describes as *double classification*, as the matrix language changes within the narration. The Haitian Creole sentence within the English matrix language text is an example used by Sophie of the way in which her mother and her partner speak. This is thus an example of reported speech. In the main body of the text, the Haitian Creole in this sentence can be classified as an embedded language within the novel's overall matrix language. Within the internal structure of this reported speech, however, Haitian Creole can be classified as the matrix language, and the English word 'feeling' within this sentence can be classified as a switch to an embedded language. This type of double classification most commonly occurs in connection with dialogue but can sometimes also be used in first-person narration, as is the case with the above passage.

In *Bones*, the layeredness of code-switching comes across even more explicitly than in *Breath*, and switches to different languages are used to portray the inherently multilingual nature of the speech community of Haitian immigrants in the Dominican Republic. Depending on the speaker and the addressee of an utterance, interlingual code-switching can occur to either Haitian Creole or Spanish. For example, when the protagonist Amabelle speaks to her employers, she switches to Spanish, whereas when she speaks to her lover, Sebastien, she switches to Haitian Creole. There are also some occasions where both Haitian Creole and Spanish are used within a single utterance. For example, in the following passage, Sebastien switches from Spanish to Haitian Creole: "The pigeons always make him draw in his breath, suck his teeth, and say, "Ay, pobrecita manman mwen." My poor mother" (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 25). Here, then, we can first see Sebastien's dialogue, where the switch from Spanish to Haitian Creole occurs, after which the narrator translates his dialogue into English. Therefore, the first layer of code-switching, from Spanish

to Haitian Creole, is a representation of Sebastien's multilingual speech – living in a multilingual community he habitually switches between the two languages – whereas the second layer of code-switching into English, is more for the benefit of the reader.

The novels contain some meta-level commentary on language as well. In *Bones*, the protagonist Amabelle often notices and remarks on the different ways of speaking of the people she meets:

“I pushed my son out of my body here, in this country,” one woman said in a mix of Alegrían Kreyòl and Spanish, the tangled language of those who always stuttered as they spoke, caught as they were on the narrow ridge between two nearly native tongues. [...] “To them we are always foreigners, even if our granmèmès’ granmèmès were born in this country,” a man responded in Kreyòl, which we most often spoke – instead of Spanish – among ourselves. (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 69)

This passage exemplifies the inherently multilingual nature of Amabelle's speech community. Having left Haiti for the Dominican Republic, the Haitian immigrants must communicate in Spanish with the other members of the community, and prolonged absence from Haiti has also affected the way in which they speak their native language of Haitian Creole. In the case of second-generation immigrants, the Creole speakers might not have ever even been to the other side of the border. Creole does, however, remain the language spoken in conversations with other Haitian immigrants.

In *Breath*, we can see indications of the politically inferior status of Haitian Creole, both in the United States and in Haiti. English and French are seen as prestigious languages, whereas Haitian Creole is seen as something to be ashamed of. This can be seen, for example, in the message on Sophie's mother's answering machine and Sophie's reaction to it:

The phone rang endlessly. Finally her answering machine picked up. “*S'il vous plait, laissez-moi un message*. Please leave me a message.” Impeccable French and English, both painfully mastered, so that her voice would never betray the fact that she grew up without a father, that her mother was merely a peasant, that she was *from the hills*. (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 223)

Sophie's mother has taught herself to speak French and English as well as possible in order to disguise her Haitian heritage. According to DeGraff (2017), this prejudice against the use of Creole has been a central issue in the Haitian educational system, as “Haitian schools continue to impose French as the primary language of instruction

and education". He also explains that in many "Haitian classrooms, students are still punished, humiliated, and even expelled for speaking Kreyòl at school" (ibid.). During the time in which the novel is set, the status of Haitian Creole in the community would have been even more disadvantaged than it is today. For Sophie's mother, learning the prestigious European languages would have been a way to escape her life in Haiti.

Similarly to Naipaul's work, on the other hand, English is also used as a language for creating distance from difficult topics. Due to it being a non-native language for the Haitian characters, it is seen as less intimate than Haitian Creole. During the course of the narrative in *Breath*, Sophie becomes estranged from her mother, and when they meet again after a long separation, she points out that they "were speaking to one another in English without realizing it" (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 162). Switching to a less intimate language makes the reunion of the two women less awkward for them.

The two Danticat novels were translated into Finnish by Leena Tamminen (1949–): *Näen, muistan, hengitän* in 1999 and *Veressä viljava maa* in 2000. Tamminen has had an active career as a translator since 1977, and she had translated nearly fifty books before translating Danticat's work (Finnish National Bibliography). She has been awarded the WSOY Literary Foundation award twice, in 1991 and in 2000. Although she has retired from literary translation, Tamminen has more recently taken up work as a playwright, working, for example, with Finnish actress Seela Sella.

Himilce Novas's *Mangos, Bananas and Coconuts: A Cuban Love Story*

Cuban-born author, historian, journalist and human rights activist Himilce Novas (1944–) currently lives in the United States. She has published both fiction and non-fiction literature, including novels, poems, plays, and works on Latino culture and history. Novas's first novel *Mangos, Bananas and Coconuts: A Cuban Love Story* (1996) contains two central storylines. One of them tells the story of twin siblings separated at birth, Esmeralda and Juan, who find their way back to each other. The twin's mother dies during childbirth, and the father, Arnaldo, kidnaps Esmeralda and escapes to the United States without ever finding out that there was also a boy. Juan is adopted by his wealthy grandparents who later move to the United States. Juan and Esmeralda meet again after years of separation and fall in love without realising their connection. The other storyline deals with the abusive and obsessive relationship between Esmeralda and her father. Her father's spiritual journey into becoming a faith healer is also described in the beginning of the novel.

The two primary languages of *Mangos* are the matrix language of American English and the embedded language of Cuban Spanish. Spanish is the official language of Cuba and spoken by an overwhelming majority of the island's population. Historically, the status of Spanish differs from the status of other coloniser languages, such as English or French, in that due to the smaller size and relatively late formation of plantation culture on Spanish-speaking islands, creole languages did not form in these communities (see e.g. Sessarego 2015, 10). Therefore, Cuban Spanish, in contrast to languages such as Jamaican or Haitian Creole, is considered a variety of Spanish rather than a distinct language. English is not a widely spoken language in Cuba, and most of the literature published on the island is written in Spanish. Anglophone Cuban writing is thus predominantly published by authors living in diaspora communities, such as is the case with the two Cuban authors discussed in this dissertation, both of whom reside in the United States. In the American context, the language of Spanish-speaking Caribbean immigrants, from islands such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic, is often referred to as "Spanglish", a highly controversial label that has sparked much debate both for and against its use (for a detailed account on the debate, see e.g. Zentella 2016). It is, however, a label that quite clearly indicates the bilingual nature of these language communities.

Code-switching in *Mangos* is mostly limited to the interlingual code-switching of single words and short phrases into Cuban Spanish. Novas uses cushioning for the less recognisable Spanish words but leaves others uncushioned, presumably because they are considered sufficiently recognisable for (American) English-speaking readers not to require explication. For example, the following passage describes the talk in Arnaldo's community in Cuba caused by his new-found spirituality. Two Spanish words are given English descriptions:

What Arnaldo felt and why he gave his life to Jesus had been the subject of much speculation among the *guajiros*, the native peasants, many blond and blue-eyed, whose ancestors, known as *Guanches*, had come to Cuba from the Canary Islands and who were known for their common sense and, some said, their stubborn-as-a-mule and dogged-as-a-dog way of seeing things for what they were and not for what at first the priests and later the politicians swore up and down they were. (*Mangos* 1996, 9)

Within this passage, a short description of the people in Arnaldo's community gives us quite a lot of information on the history of Cuban settlement and thus introduces the reader to aspects of Cuban culture and history very early on. The style of cushioning added to these two Spanish words is somewhat different; for *guajiros*,

cushioning is overt and in the form of a direct translation into English, whereas for *Guanches*, which is a proper noun, the cushioning is more descriptive.

All the main characters in *Mangos* are of Cuban origin, and the implied language in dialogues between them is Spanish, even though dialogue is mostly written in English. Consequently, when English in dialogue is actually meant to be English, this is mentioned in the text. For example, in the following passage, Arnaldo as a teenager heals his cousin's daughter and, while doing so, speaks Bible verses in English (more discussion on the topic can be found in subsection 4.1.2). For his cousin, who does not understand him, these English words are as much a miracle as his daughter's recovery:

Arnaldo rose slowly from his rocking chair, more like an elder shaman than the seventeen-year-old boy he was, and held the girl in his arms, pressing her firmly against his head.

"If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?" he said in English, in the King James version.

Perfecto understood this to be an incantation, a strange speaking-in-tongues that his cousin was performing. He closed his eyes and knelt down on the red-dirt road, knelt down at nothing in particular because he had no faith in any deity or Catholic saint, although at this moment, and from that moment on, he had a fearful faith in his first cousin Arnaldo. (*Mangos* 1996, 17)

The quoted line is indeed a direct quote from the King James Bible (Matt. 12:27), which Arnaldo is using to lend himself authority over his cousin. The language in this dialogue can be considered both foreign and familiar at the same time. Arnaldo miraculously learns to speak English overnight and uses English as a deliberate means to generate awe in his cousin. From the cousin's perspective, Arnaldo's words are incomprehensible and magical. Arnaldo is thus employing similar calculative techniques of changes in language and register for the purposes of creating authority and trust that Ganesh uses in Naipaul's *Masseur*. Both characters take advantage of their erudition to create an aura of authority and mystery around them.

Later on in the same discussion Arnaldo switches back to speaking Spanish in order to be understood by his cousin, but in order to maintain the authority he had gained, he speaks in a Bible-like, archaic language, which, instead of Spanish, is written in archaic English: "He placed the child in his father's arms once again and, without so much as an eyedropper of emotion in his voice, said in a strange, archaic Spanish: "This damsel is not dead but sleepeth. She will minister to you in the morning."" (*Mangos* 1996, 18). This is not a direct quote from the King James Bible, but a similar line can be found there: "He said unto them, Give place: for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn" (Matt. 9:24). Here, although

Spanish is the implied language, like in the rest of the novel, the author has mentioned the language spoken because it changes mid-conversation and also differs from the register used elsewhere in the text.

Novas's novel was translated into Finnish by Sari Selander (1964–) in 1998 under the title *Mangot, banaanit ja kookospähkinät: kuubalainen rakkaustarina*. Selander's primary working language is Spanish, and although Novas's novel is the only Caribbean work Selander has translated from English, she has translated a novel by Cuban author Abilio Estévez from Spanish, for example.

Cristina García's *The Agüero Sisters*

Cuban-born Cristina García (1958–) is a journalist and novelist whose family immigrated to the United States when she was still a child. *The Agüero Sisters* (1997) is the author's second novel, and it tells the story of the Agüero family from the perspectives of several different family members. The novel switches between first-person and third-person narration. First-person narration is used mostly for passages narrated by Ignacio, who provides glimpses into the family's history and the Cuba of his childhood. The third-person narrator describes the lives of Ignacio's daughters and granddaughters in the early 1990s. The two daughters, Constancia and Reina, were separated as children and as adults have a very complex relationship and very different experiences and memories of their parents. Some passages told from the perspective of Reina's daughter, Dulce, also use first-person narration. As the narration progresses, the sisters try to come to terms with the mysterious death of their mother many years previously. The different stories of the sisters, their daughters, and their father also provide insights into various aspects of Cuban culture and society in different decades.

Similarly to Novas, García's novel switches between the matrix language of American English and the embedded language of Cuban Spanish. In *Sisters*, García tends to use somewhat less cushioning for Spanish code-switches than Novas uses in *Mangos*. Just as in *Mangos*, Spanish switches are most commonly single words, and many of them can be considered easily recognisable for an American audience. García does, however, also use multiple word switches on occasion. These longer stretches are mostly found in dialogue between characters speaking Spanish to one another. In most cases, dialogue is written in English even when the implied language spoken between the characters is Spanish, but on occasion García breaks this pattern by adding Spanish dialogue. For example, in the following passage, Constancia's husband is planning to leave her to join Cuban revolutionaries, and she is pleading him not to leave her. The implied language here is Spanish, but the first

part of it is written in English, whereas the second part is a switch to Spanish: ““You don’t need to die yet,” Constancia says instead, more softly than she intended. Her own chest aches with too much exhaled air. “*No the vayas, mi cielo.*”” (*Sisters* 1997, 74) [Don’t go, my heaven]. Most occurrences of code-switching that appear in dialogue have not been provided with cushioning apart from the contextual cues found in the rest of the surrounding dialogue. In this particular instance, even if the reader does not understand the Spanish switch, it is apparent from the context that Constancia is not happy about her husband’s plans and wishes to convince him to change his mind.

Most instances of cushioning in *Sisters* are found in narration rather than dialogue, and it is mostly covert rather than a direct translation of the switch. In many passages with code-switching into Spanish, the sentence around the switch is formulated in a way that makes it easier for the reader to get the meaning of the foreign word or at least understand the surrounding context even without understanding the switch itself. For example, in the following passage, the Spanish word *lector*⁴ is cushioned covertly: “Reinaldo Agüero became a **lector** in the second-largest **cigar factory** in Pinar del Río and **was greatly admired for his erudition and his rich baritone**” (*Sisters* 1997, 10). Even if the reader is not familiar with this word, it is possible to deduce from the context that it has to do with cigar factories and some type of public speaking. As I mentioned in connection to Danticat’s works, here, too, the more covert types of cushioning are often reserved for the types of culture-specific concepts for which it is difficult to provide a direct translation or short explanation. This traditionally Cuban occupation is mentioned several times later in the novel, and the word’s meaning thus becomes even clearer. Being a *lector* is what Reinaldo Agüero was known for, and his family members hold him in high esteem for this. In the following passage, Ignacio, Reinaldo’s son, recounts a story of how his father marched in a protest against American interference in Cuban politics on the day Ignacio was born: “*Angry cigar workers pressed through the crowd, shaking placards protesting the high foreign tariffs levied on tobacco. My father, Reinaldo Agüero, a lector who read to the cigar workers in their factory, marched among them*” (*Sisters* 1997, 26). The cushioning given for this later occurrence of the term is in fact much more overt than the cushioning given with the first use of the word.

⁴ Hernandez and Martinez (*Cuban Spanish – English Dictionary*, s.v. *lector*) explain the word *lector* as follows: “Many cigar factories in Cuba still keep the tradition of employing a reader to help the cigar rollers pass away the day, reading the daily [sic] news or some book of the world literature”.

García's *Sisters* was translated into Finnish by Leena Tamminen – who was also the translator of the two novels by Danticat – in 1999 under the title *Kuubalaiset sisarukset*.

Robert Antoni's *My Grandmother's Erotic Folktales* and *Carnival*

Author Robert Antoni was born in the United States to Trinidadian parents in 1958. He spent most of his youth in the Bahamas and was educated at Duke University, Johns Hopkins University, and the University of Iowa. He has won several prestigious awards, such as the Commonwealth Writers' Prize for his first novel *Divina Trace* (1991) as well as the Guggenheim Fellowship for his work on *As Flies to Whatless Boys* (2013). Two of Antoni's novels have thus far been translated into Finnish and will thus be discussed in this dissertation: *My Grandmother's Erotic Folktales* (2000) and *Carnival* (2005).

Folktales is not strictly speaking a novel but a collection of stories. These stories are narrated by the 97-year-old Grandmother Domingo, and they are set on the fictional Caribbean island of Corpus Christi, which bears resemblance to Trinidad and Tobago. The stories are a mixture of Caribbean folktales and Domingo's reminiscences of the World War II era, when the island was occupied by US military troops. *Carnival* is set in contemporary Trinidad as well as New York. The protagonist, William Fletcher, is a young West-Indian who has immigrated to the US to study. He meets up with old friends and together they return to Trinidad for the carnival. The novel introduces contemporary Trinidadian culture with the carnival, Trinidad's biggest event of the year, as the backdrop.

The two texts differ somewhat in their treatment of language. *Carnival* switches between the matrix language of American English and the embedded language of Trinidadian Creole. In *Folktales*, a form of Trinidadian Creole is the matrix language. As the whole text is written in spoken language, this poses a greater challenge for the reader and calls for a tighter balancing act than in a text where spoken language is restricted to dialogue. Consequently, the language Antoni uses in the text is somewhat closer to American English than that used in many of the other novels. However, similar techniques which give the English an appearance similar to Trinidadian Creole have also been used in *Folktales*:

But the thing about the fresh-picked cocoa beans now, was that when you stood up hard and pounded you feet it didn't make no noise a-tall, but only the soft soft little sound that you could hardly hear, like *poe poe poe*. (*Folktales* 2000, 4)

As spoken language is given much more prominence here than in the other texts, using a variety that is closer to American English can be said to contribute to the text's readability. In addition to spoken language representing the use of Trinidadian Creole, the text contains interlingual code-switching to Trinidadian Creole as well as Spanish.

Although the amount of spoken language used in *Carnival* cannot be said to come anywhere close to the amount in *Folktales*, spoken language is still used more frequently than interlingual code-switching. *Carnival* adheres more to the differentiation between narration and dialogue, and most of the spoken language in the text is found in dialogue. As *Carnival* does have a first-person narrator, there are passages in the text where spoken language seeps over from dialogue to narration. The narrator, who is a Trinidadian-born man living in the United States, mostly speaks American English even in dialogue but occasionally some spoken language elements appear in his speech. These same elements are also visible in the narration: "she was a West-Indian: she knew how to wine, to free-up sheself" (*Carnival* 2005, 176). The spoken language used in dialogue in *Carnival* differs significantly between characters. The clearest departure from American English can be seen in the speech of characters that have lived all their lives in Trinidad, whereas the characters that have moved away from the island speak a variety closer to American English. In the following dialogue, the first speaker, a Trinidadian boy called Eddoes, speaks Trinidadian Creole, whereas the narrator, William, speaks American English:

"Wha?" he laughed. "Save my life you know. Me did feeling plenty geegeeree to go across them stage."

"That was only to give you the edge."

"Think so?" he steupsed. "Me ain't accustom to them kinda crowd, unnastand?" (*Carnival* 2005, 180)

In *Carnival*, too, Trinidadian Creole appears in interlingual code-switching, mostly as single words. Code-switching to French also appears occasionally; this is used in a more ironical manner, when William wishes to mock his friend Laurence's elitism: "When they'd breakfasted not at the Plaza, but in some uptown bistro Laurence took them to that was famous for their oeufs-à-la-something-or-other" (*Carnival* 2005, 65). Most instances of interlingual code-switching, however, are used to refer to culture-specific items in descriptions of Trinidadian culture.

The two novels were translated into Finnish by different translators: *My Grandmother's Erotic Folktales* (2000) was translated by Anni Sumari (1965–) under the name *Isoäitini eroottiset kansantarinat* in 2000, and *Carnival* (2005) was translated by Einari Aaltonen (1972–) under the name *Karnevaalit* in 2005. Anni Sumari is primarily known for her own literary work, which consists mostly of

poetry and short prose. Her other work as a translator has included for example translating the works of Samuel Beckett. Einari Aaltonen has worked as a literary translator since the early 2000s. In addition to literary prose, he has translated poems by Arthur Rimbaud and Paul Verlaine, for example. He has also published some poetry of his own.

Andrea Levy's *The Long Song*

The most recently published novel examined in this dissertation is *The Long Song* (2010) by Andrea Levy (1956–2019). Levy was born in the United Kingdom to Jamaican parents, who immigrated in 1948 as part of the so-called “Windrush generation”. Levy is known for her depiction of the Jamaican diaspora community in London. She is especially well known for her novel *Small Island* (2004), for which she won three major prizes. *Song*, which was the author’s fifth novel, was shortlisted for the Man Booker prize, and it won the Walter Scott Prize for historical fiction in 2011. It was also listed as one of the Notable Books of the Year in *The New York Times Book Review*. *Song* is a historical novel set in Jamaica during the final years of slavery. It tells the story of July, a former slave, who recounts her own life story at a Jamaican sugar plantation called Amity in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery.

The story is narrated by the protagonist July, and it is set in the late 19th century. The matrix language used is an archaic form of Jamaican English, and there are frequent switches into Jamaican Creole. The distinction between Jamaican English and Jamaican Creole can be somewhat difficult to draw, and scholars tend to describe them, rather than as two distinct languages, as a continuum from one to the other where the line between the two is often blurred. The most visible heterolingual feature in *Song* is the use of spoken language as a representation of Jamaican Creole. Spoken language is found in dialogue as well as to a lesser degree in July’s first-person narration. This results in a narrative where no clear line is drawn between interlingual code-switching and spoken language. Moreover, as Levy uses an archaic form of Jamaican English and has chosen not to use italics for interlingual code-switching, this further blurs the lines between different language varieties. What could be construed as interlingual code-switching within this narrative are mainly single Jamaican Creole words, many of which have African roots, which makes them more easily distinguishable from spoken language. Such a word is for example the

verb *nyam*⁵ referring to the act of eating, which the protagonist July uses multiple times in the novel: “Come sit, husband... please start nyam husband... oh hush now, husband” (*Song* [2010] 2011, 288). Due to the style of Levy’s writing, where the different language varieties blend together in a very natural way, distinguishing different varieties only becomes significant when the text is translated; the translator has to make choices on how to treat specific words – whether to treat them as English or interlingual code-switching.

Much of what makes Levy’s text uniquely Caribbean comes from the overall style of the narration, which employs elements of Caribbean oral tradition and storytelling. The dialogic relationship of the storyteller and their audience can be seen in the following passage in which, through references to perhaps the best-known character in Caribbean folktales, Anancy, July turns the story of her own birth into something of an Anancy story:

And so ends the story of July’s birth – a story that was more thrilling than anything the rascal spider Anancy could conjure. With some tellings it was not the rain that beat down upon July’s tender, newborn body, but the hot sun, whose fierce heat baked the blood from her birth into a hard scabrous crust upon her naked flesh. Other times, it was a wind that was blowing with so fierce a breath that her mother had to catch July by one leg before her baby was blown out of the cane field, over the big house, and off into the clouds. While a further version had a tiger, with its long, spiky snout and six legs, sniffing at the baby July, thinking her as food. No matter what glorious heights her tall tale acquired, July always avowed that she had been born upon a cane piece. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 13)

This passage exemplifies the unfixed nature of oral tradition; every time July tells the story of her own birth, she changes some part of the tale. Similar unfixedness can also be seen in the way July narrates her life-story. Her son, who encourages July to write down her memoirs in the novel, accuses her of attempting to gloss over the less pleasant episodes in her life. The son thus represents the modern, factually-based historical tradition of writing, whereas the mother is firmly rooted in the old tradition of oral storytelling.

Song was translated into Finnish in 2014 by Kirsi Kinnunen (1960–) under the name *Pitkä laulu*. Kinnunen has been working as a professional literary translator since the late 1980s, although her primary focus has been on the translation of comics rather than prose fiction.

⁵ *nyam*: to eat (voraciously), to eat (sth) as crudely as an animal would (DoCEU s.v. ‘nyam’)

3.2 Interviews with the translators

In order to gain further insight into some of the choices made by the translators, I arranged to interview some of them. Interviews were conducted with all of the translators with whom I was able to contact. In the spring of 2017, I interviewed four of the translators I discuss in my study: Sari Selander, translator of Himilce Novas's *Mangos*, Einari Aaltonen, translator of Robert Antoni's *Carnival*, Kirsi Kinnunen, translator of Andrea Levy's *Song*, and Leena Tamminen, translator of Edwidge Danticat's *Breath and Bones* as well as Cristina García's *Sisters*. In the spring of 2018, I interviewed Anni Sumari, translator of Antoni's *Folktales*. As the names of the translators will be listed in this study, it is not possible to provide complete anonymity. I have, however, removed the names of the interviewees from certain answers to avoid indicating which of them has provided a specific statement. These have been marked with numbers randomly paired with each interviewee. By request of the interviewees, some comments have also been left out.

Two of the interviews were done face to face, one as email correspondence, and two were done over Skype, as the interviewees lived abroad. Some of the interviewees also emailed me after the interview to provide some additional comments. The interviews were quite informal and conversational in nature. I had prepared a list of themes I wanted to discuss with each interviewee. These were divided into general and specific questions, of which the general questions section was the same for all five, and the specific questions section contained questions that were specific to the text(s) translated by the interviewee.

In the general questions section, I enquired about their career as a translator. This had to do with their background and education – how and why they came to be literary translators – as well as their work as a translator; what kinds of texts they translate, and what the nature of their relationship with the publisher and the editor is. I also enquired about the types of networks and materials they normally engage with when translating. In the specific questions section, then, I moved on to themes more closely related to the Caribbean novels and their translation. I asked them how they came to translate the novel(s) in question, and what their first impressions were when reading the text. I also enquired about how they prepared for the task, and what specific points of focus or challenges they had when translating the text. This second set of questions differed slightly for each interviewee. Regarding Selander and Tamminen it should also be pointed out that, as their translations were published nearly two decades ago, they did not understandably have a very detailed recollection of the specificities of the translation process. Therefore, in their case, the discussion dealt with their translation processes at a more general level.

Out of the five interviewees, four had distinctly similar backgrounds. A general interest in languages was a common denominator, and this was also given as one of the main reasons for choosing to become a translator:

I was already interested in languages in primary school, so it felt right. I remember already thinking about it then that it would be nice to work with foreign languages. And then in secondary school I knew I wanted to be a translator, a literary translator. (I3)

It was kind of natural for me because I had always liked languages. So I've never had a problem with anything to do with communication... So it was kind of self-evident, although I did apply to a lot of places. Like medical school and arts and design... Then I ended up going to France as an au pair and I studied French there, and so when I came back I knew that I'd at least be accepted to study French if nothing else. (I2)

All of the interviewees had a university degree, although not all had studied translation. In addition to translation, the fields of study included languages, literary studies, and communication studies. Four out of five had studied languages at a university, and three of them had also had some form of education or training in translation, while the other two had focused more on literary or cultural studies. For some of the interviewees, the language from which they translated was different from that which they had their degree in, so at least some self-learning was also involved.

In terms of educational background, in my understanding it is not uncommon for Finnish literary translators to receive their primary education in something other than Translation Studies. This has to do with the fact that translator training in Finland has traditionally been very much focused on non-fiction translation. In addition, Translation Studies is a relatively new field of education; in 2016, we celebrated fifty years of translator training in Finland, and university level education in translation was only available from 1981. This means that the translators of the oldest texts in my research material might not even have had access to systematic translator training in the first place. Historically, literary translations were done by researchers, teachers, and writers rather than professional translators (Sevänen 2007, 13). Today, an increasing number of literary translators in Finland will have received some formal training in translation, but some do still find their way into the profession through other paths.

Tamminen explained that it was common practice in the 1970s that a new translator's first editor acted as a kind of mentor who would read the first translations more thoroughly, giving advice and thus introducing the new translator to the field.

The practice at the time thus seems to be akin to an on-the-job learning approach. Compared to the situation today, a change in the relationship between the editor and the translator can be seen. Based on the interviews, today both the translators and the editors tend to work as freelancers. In other words, where in the 1970s the editor acted as a mentor and formed a close relationship with the translator, today both the translator and the editor seem rather to be cogs in the production machinery of the publishing industry, and thus it is often not possible for the translator to form as close a relationship with an editor as it was before.

Four out of five interviewees also said that, in most cases, the texts to be translated were suggested by the publishers. Two of the translators said that they had at some point in their careers suggested texts to publishers that they thought should be translated into Finnish, but neither of them had been successful in getting their ideas through. As I have not discussed this matter with the publishers or other translators, I cannot say how widespread a phenomenon this is or how reluctant Finnish publishers are in general to accepting suggestions by translators. Of my interviewees, Sumari seems to be the exception to the rule, as she reported that she had in fact been the instigator in all of the texts she had translated. The crucial factor here seems to be that Sumari has also published her own literary works, which would appear to give her more leeway with the publishers.

When asked about their work as a translator, four out of five interviewees stated that literary translation had been their primary occupation for most of their careers, although they had also worked in various other occupations, most of which were in one way or another related to language or literature. As was noted above, Sumari forms the exception here, as her primary work has been that of a writer, and she has produced translations on the side of her own literary production. Not all of the interviewees had sought out the profession as such but had gravitated towards it due to their prowess and interest in languages or literature as well as the encouragement of influential people in their lives.

When asked about the networks and materials they utilised in their translation projects, the interviewees mentioned a number of commonly used sources. In addition to various online sources and text-specific reference materials, such as works on Caribbean culture and language varieties, several of the interviewees regularly contacted colleagues as well as other experts in various fields. This was naturally even more common before the era of the internet, but the expertise of other professionals was still considered valuable today. These experts were mostly Finnish, because the kind of information the translators were mostly looking for was how a specific term would be used in the Finnish context. None of the interviewees had been in contact with people in the Caribbean. All of them seemed to view even the author as a sort of “last resort” who would only be contacted if absolutely necessary. One of them had met the author in person, and two had corresponded by

email (one of whom had also met the author after the publication of the translation rather than during the translation process). However, contact with the author was not a common occurrence.

A specific network praised by several of the interviewees was the Konteksti mailing list, maintained by prominent Finnish literary translator and translator educator Kersti Juva. According to the description given on the mailing list's website⁶, Konteksti is a forum for discussions on all topics related to literary translation from and into Finnish. Subscribers are required to have at least one published literary translation before they are able to join the list. Several of the interviewees described the list as very active and useful. Not all of them had actively participated in the discussion but stated that even following what other people post in the group can give useful insight into one's own work. The Konteksti list provides an easy way for literary translators to reach other people in the translator community in order to receive – as well as provide – peer support.

All interviewees revealed that the Caribbean texts were in some way different from other works they had translated; one of them described the experience as a “headfirst plunge into unknown black waters” (I2). This had to do with Caribbean culture as well as language. For Selander, who had studied Latin American literature, the unfamiliarity had to do with the language of the text rather than the culture, as she primarily translates from Spanish, and thus an English source text was unfamiliar territory for her. She had received the translation commission from a publishing house where she had previously worked as an editor because they had known of her Spanish skills and her interest in the culture. Regarding the others, unfamiliar cultural concepts as well as spoken language varieties and Creole code-switching were considered challenging. Therefore, with the exception of one, the translators had little previous experience with or knowledge of Caribbean cultures or languages.

When preparing for the translation of these specific texts, many of the interviewees said that they preferred not to consult other previous Finnish translations of Caribbean texts. Only in one case was there the possibility of consulting a previous Finnish translation of a text by the same author, but other texts by authors with similar origins certainly would have been available. As an exception, one of the interviewees said they had used the translation of the same novel into a different language as a reference in some problematic places. The reason given for choosing not to consult previous translations was that they preferred to make their own choices and judgements rather than mimic the choices made by another. In connection to this question, it was apparent that the translators considered themselves artists in their own right, not just reproducers of another artist's work,

⁶ <http://lists.oulu.fi/mailman/listinfo/konteksti>

and I believe that not using earlier works by other translators as reference was primarily seen as a question of professional pride. It was also pointed out by one of the interviewees that this was not something that publishers or editors required of the translators, even in the case of a text from the same series having previously been translated by someone else.

Familiarity with the culture described in the work to be translated is naturally beneficial for the translator. This was also expressed by Selander, who said that visiting Cuba had helped her tremendously in translating Cuban literature:

Especially early on – because Cuban Spanish has a lot of special characteristics, and even the Caribbean lifestyle has something in it that I felt at the time I wouldn't be able to learn from books, you need to be able to use all your senses.

Two of the interviewees had visited a Caribbean island and both felt that it was useful for understanding the cultural context of the work they were translating. Kinnunen also explained that, although she had not been able to visit the Caribbean, she had felt that even living in France, a former colonising nation, and thus being surrounded by the heritage of colonisation, had in some way prepared her for the translation of a Caribbean historical novel.

What was seen as particularly challenging by many of the interviewees was code-switching in its various forms, especially the use of spoken language. Culture-specific items were also mentioned as challenging by those who were not familiar with the local culture before beginning the translation process. Understanding the cultural references and the nuances of different language varieties was seen as important for the translation process:

Even if I wasn't able to transfer everything into the translation, it's extremely important that I understand it, that I understand all the nuances and fine details.
(I5)

The interviewee quoted above is drawing attention to the need for the translator to be able to understand everything that is said in the source text in order to be able to make an informed decision on what should be retained and what can perhaps be left out or conveyed with an alternative solution. Here, we return to Attridge's (2011) notion of responsible reading; during the translation process, the literary translator assumes the role of the responsible reader in order to provide the reader of the translation with what they believe to be the best possible interpretation of the source text.

What should also be emphasised about the interviewees' responses to questions about what they found to be challenging or new about the Caribbean texts to be

translated was that their attitude towards these challenges was extremely positive. One of the interviewees talked about their struggle with spoken language as follows:

There are no established ways of translating spoken language into Finnish, and there wasn't any terminology available, so in that way it was quite exciting. I had to decide for myself what to do with it. So in that way it was really nice.
(I2)

As can be seen from this quote, the lack of reference materials was seen less as a hindrance and more as an opportunity for the translator to create something of their own. This brings us back to the notion of the literary translator as a creative artist rather than just a reproducer of another artist's work. The enthusiasm with which many of my interviewees discussed these challenges they had faced in their work indicates a high level of professional pride and passion for the trade. It can be argued that similar enthusiasm can also be inferred from the fact that these translators accepted my request to interview them.

Based on the translation strategies used by each translator as well as insights into their backgrounds, a distinction could be made between what will be here referred to as language-oriented and culture-oriented translators. However, instead of a straightforward dichotomy, this should be seen more as a continuum from language-orientedness to culture-orientedness. Each translator's position along this continuum is determined by their points of focus in a text, what they see as the most important aspects to be maintained. The more culture-oriented translators tended to preserve code-switching and other culture-specific items more often than those who were more language-oriented. In this case, language-orientedness refers to orientation towards the target language and its norms, which tended to lead to more omissions of code-switching due to issues related to the fluency of the Finnish in the translation; fluency and ease of reading were seen as more important than the retention of all foreign-language items by these language-oriented translators. Thus, a juxtaposition emerges between the fluency of the Finnish versus maintenance of cultural references.

One of the translators was more clearly at the fluency end of this spectrum than the others, one was quite clearly towards the cultural integrity end, while the others could be placed somewhere in between. One of the holders of the middle ground explained their point of focus as follows:

A translation should not be too obtrusive. So I prefer to do small things, in a way that lets the reader fill in the gaps... and then again in speech in general, and all of translation, even all of life, the most important thing for me is rhythm... the

rhythm needs to be faithful to the original but also be pleasing for the Finnish reader. That is what is the most important. (I2)

This “doing small things” was a sentiment echoed by several of the interviewees. They preferred not to make any big changes to the text but to stick as close to the original as possible while still producing a fluent translation. At least some of the pressure for this style of translation might also be coming from the publishing houses; according to interviews with editors of translated fiction conducted by Tiittula in 2010, many editors preferred, especially in relation to the translation of spoken language, that the translators make only small changes to the original (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 255). Tiittula also notes that the editors seemed to be aware of the general tendency for spoken language to normalise in translated fiction, although exceptions were allowed if the editor felt that the translator had succeeded particularly well in creating a fluent representation of spoken language (*ibid.*, 256–257).

Another concern taken into account by many editors is the ageing of specific language varieties. Many editors believe that spoken language varieties age more quickly than standard language, causing it to become old-fashioned (*ibid.*, 258). Signs of ageing can be seen in some of the novels discussed in this dissertation, although it can be argued that other issues, such as changes in writing conventions, also play their part. This matter will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 5.

In a previous study in which Finnish literary translators were also interviewed, Päivi Vehviläinen (2000, 37–38) found similar distinctions between the translators. She divided her interviewees into those who were more oriented towards serving the author of the source text and those that were more oriented towards serving the reader of the target text. The point of focus for the author-oriented was in determining all the nuances of the author’s original message and intention and to convey this intention to the reader of the source text as closely as possible. The point of focus for the reader-oriented translator was to provide the reader of the target text with an enjoyable reading experience by making the language of the translation as fluent and understandable as possible. Vehviläinen’s author-oriented and reader-oriented translators could be said to correspond roughly with my culture-oriented and language-oriented translators, respectively. Vehviläinen’s study was focused on how the interviewees construct their own identity as a translator in the interviews, and consequently she was more interested in how translators describe their process rather than the process itself or its end result, the finished translation. Vehviläinen (*ibid.*, 92) does also point out that, based on her data, no one translator could be unambiguously categorised as author-oriented or reader-oriented but that all interviewees negotiated between the two, using both approaches when deemed suitable.

Furthermore, as Vehviläinen's approach was one of discourse analysis rather than textual analysis, the actual strategies used by the translators in their work do not come into play. In a similar vein, as I base my division into culture-oriented and language-oriented translators, aside from interview data, on a rather limited set of texts, with many of the translators only being represented by one, this conclusion, too, should be approached with some reserve. A more extensive study of a larger number of a specific translator's works could yield more answers to whether this can be considered an inclination of a specific translator in a broader sense or whether the approach chosen is more closely related to the demands posed by each specific text. That said, the information I have gained on the backgrounds of the interviewees does seem to suggest that the personal preferences of each translator do play a significant role in determining which types of strategies are more likely to be used by them.

The discussion above provides a general overview of the interviews conducted with five of the translators discussed in this dissertation. Issues relating more specifically to the texts translated by each of the interviewees will be discussed in relevant parts of the upcoming chapters, which examine the translations in more detail. Chapter 4 focuses on the various types of interlingual code-switching found in the novels and their translations, while chapter 5 focuses on the use of spoken language varieties in each text.

4 Interlingual code-switching

In this chapter, the source texts and their translations are analysed with regard to the strategies used in dealing with interlingual code-switching. In section 4.1, the novels are placed in order based on where they are located on the continuum of strategies introduced in subsection 2.2.1. The discussion is divided into three subsections: one for authors whose strategies can be placed more towards the domesticating end of the continuum, one for those that can be placed towards the foreignising end of the continuum, and one for those who fall in between the two. None of the authors are situated at the extreme ends of this continuum. Authors who would be situated at the domesticating end of the continuum would in all likelihood not make particular use of code-switching, and therefore the most domesticating strategies on the part of source text authors do not fall under the scope of this dissertation. In a similar vein, authors using strategies that would place them at the foreignising end of the continuum would be more likely to produce texts that are less desirable for international audiences and thus would perhaps not be likely to be chosen to be translated into Finnish. Although the extreme ends of the continuum are not represented in the materials, distinctions can still be drawn between the global strategies used in the novels.

Section 4.2 contains a more detailed discussion on the most prominent types or themes of interlingual code-switching and their translations. Here, the various types of interlingual code-switching have been divided into six semantic categories that are the most prominent themes under which interlingual code-switching is used in the novels. The categories include (1) names and appellatives, (2) exclamations and expletives, (3) flora and fauna, (4) references to oral traditions, (5) references to religions, and (6) other culturally specific items. The categories differ in terms of the kinds of items of code-switching that are used for them but also in terms of what kinds of translation strategies the Finnish translators are most likely to use for them.

4.1 Translation strategies and the use of interlingual code-switching

Interlingual code-switching, the first of the two subtypes of heterolingualism discussed in this dissertation, is the primary focus of this section. All ten novels under discussion use interlingual code-switching for varying purposes and in varying styles. Some authors draw more attention to the heterolingual nature of their writing than others, and some provide more cushioning to aid the English-speaking reader in understanding the meaning of the switches than others do. In other words, the authors of these works can be said to be employing different types of strategies in the ways in which they ‘translate’ the cultural setting of their novels. In this section, I will draw comparisons between the strategies employed by the source text authors and those used by the Finnish translators.

On the global level, most strategies used by the Finnish translators appear to correspond quite closely with those employed by the source text authors, although some variation does occur in all texts in terms of local strategies. In general, how interlingual code-switching is maintained in these translations follows three rules. Firstly, longer stretches of code-switching, for example phrases and complete sentences, are more often maintained than single words. This probably relates to the invasiveness of the code-switching in the source text; a longer phrase or sentence has a larger impact on the text than a single word. Additionally, when a complete phrase or sentence is switched, it constitutes a fixed unit, which eliminates the need for added inflections, making it easier for the foreign language element to flow within Finnish text. In this sense, exclamations, too, could be included within this category of fixed phrases – even those that only contain one word – as they normally constitute phrases that do not affect the structure of the text around them.

Secondly, in the case of code-switching of single words, nouns are more often maintained than other word classes. This might, again, be partly related to inflections, as nouns tend to be easier to connect with Finnish inflections than for example verbs. Another possible reason for this is that the meaning of nouns is often easier to infer from the surrounding context than that of other types of words. Nouns are also by far the most common word class found in the interlingual code-switching of the source texts. This would seem to suggest that the same rule applies to the strategies chosen by the authors of the source texts; nouns are preferred in interlingual code-switching over other word classes because of their comparative ease of integration into the matrix language text. Additionally, as nouns are generally the most common word class for loan words, having inflected foreign nouns in a Finnish text might not affect the Finnish reader quite as much as, for example, inflected verbs, which would tend to stand out more than nouns. On the other hand, leaving these words uninflected would cause the same issue of frustrated

grammatical patterns already discussed by Goluch (2011, 201). An example of such a challenging item of code-switching for the translator can be seen in the following passage from *Song*, where the narrator uses the previously mentioned Creole verb *nyam*: “So let us watch now as my son gently commands his family to start *nyam*” (*Song* [2010] 2011, 358). In the Finnish translation, the Creole code-switching has been omitted: “Katsotaanpa seuraavaksi, miten lempeästi poikani kehottaa perhettään käymään murkinalle” (*Song FI* 2014, 320) [Let us watch next how gently my son asks his family to come have grub]. Here, the translator has changed the sentence structure slightly so that the verb ‘eat’ is in fact not used in the translation. The verb phrase ‘to start *nyam*’ would require an inflected form that would be rather difficult to accommodate in the Finnish sentence structure were the code-switching to be maintained.

Thirdly, italicised code-switching is more often maintained than non-italicised code-switching. This, again, relates to the invasiveness of the switch. Italics are generally used to make something in the text more visible, to draw attention to it. When particular attention is drawn to the foreignness of certain words, the translator might also feel, consciously or unconsciously, that maintaining them is more significant than if those words were not italicised. This might also be related to ease of recognition; when italics are used for interlingual code-switching in the source text, the author has pointed out which words they consider to be foreign for the reader. When no italics are used, the translators must draw their own conclusions as to which words should be considered code-switching, and thus some words might be overlooked in the process. The effect of an author opting out of using italics for foreign words, then, is quite different in this instance to what was intended. If the original reason for not italicising code-switching was, in Díaz’s words, to “remind the readers of the fluidity of languages” (Ch‘ien 2004, 204) – in other words to question the separation of languages in an inherently multilingual speech situation or language community – the unfortunate side-effect of this seems, in the case of translating the works into other languages, to be a degree of loss of the heterolingual aspects of the source text.

There are also some more subtle markers of heterolingualism that tend to get lost in translation. This has to do with the influence that an author’s native language can have on the language in which they are writing. In the Caribbean region, the question of what is considered a native language can be a complex one, and many of the authors discussed here write their works in English even though they might not consider it their first language. The linguistic background of the author can thus manifest itself, either consciously or unconsciously, through the author’s choice of vocabulary or grammatical patterns. This cannot be considered code-switching as such, but it is a closely related phenomenon that creates its own type of heterolingualism in the texts.

In the following subsections, the seven authors have been arranged into three groups based on where they are located along the continuum of strategies. None of the texts are situated very far towards the domesticating end, as they all use code-switching instead of, for example, rendering all foreign words in English. There is, however, variation in the amount of cushioning used. I have placed the works of Haitian author Edwidge Danticat and Dominican Jean Rhys towards the domesticating end of the continuum, as they tend to provide translations and other types of cushioning for most of their interlingual code-switching. Midway along the continuum are the two Cuban authors, Himilce Novas and Cristina García as well as Jamaican Andrea Levy. Towards the foreignising end of the continuum, then, are the two Trinidadian authors, V. S. Naipaul and Robert Antoni.

4.1.1 Domestication and cushioning: Danticat and Rhys

Edwidge Danticat is among the authors who tend to add the most cushioning to their interlingual code-switching. For example, in the following passage from *Breath*, Danticat uses Haitian Creole in dialogue and then repeats the same in English: ““***Ki niméro*** today?” he asked. “**What numbers** are you playing?”” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 5). Here, then, a direct translation of the switch is provided within the dialogue. Similar examples can be found in *Bones*; in the following passage, the protagonist Amabelle’s lover, Sebastien, talks about the rootlessness of the people living in their community of Haitian immigrant field workers in the Dominican Republic: “They say some people don’t belong anywhere and that’s us. I say we are a group of **vwayajè, wayfarers**” (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 56). There are also some passages in both novels where the explanation is not provided directly, but the meaning of the switch becomes apparent within the wider context of the novel. Often these are references to such culture-specific matters for which it would be difficult to give a short explanation. I will discuss this in more detail in subsection 4.2.6.

In chapter 3, the multiple layers of code-switching used by Danticat were discussed. In *Breath*, Sophie’s language learning is represented by passages where English is treated as if it were interlingual code-switching (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 66). In the Finnish translation (*Breath FI* 1999, 68), both Creole and English italicised text has been left as is, with the exception of the sentence that is meant as cushioning for the Creole text, which has been translated into Finnish. This has the effect of creating an additional layer of interlingual code-switching in the translation that does not exist in the source text, as the passage now includes three different languages: English, Haitian Creole, and Finnish.

Overall, the strategies employed in Danticat's original works are mirrored quite closely by Tamminen in the Finnish translations. As Danticat uses a lot of cushioning, mostly in the form of direct translation, she herself has adopted the role of a cultural translator in her writing. It is thus relatively easy for the translator to follow suit in a work like this; when most of the unfamiliar cultural concepts found in the text have already been explained in the source text, there is little need for added cushioning in the translation. Nevertheless, some small omissions of code-switches do occur in the translations. In *Breath*, words such as *deuil* (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 24; 'mourning') and *aéroport* (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 29; 'airport') have been replaced with their Finnish equivalents. Omissions such as these are mostly related to single words that do not have a lot of weight in the context in which they are used. In the case of *deuil*, the word also presents a Finnish translator with an additional challenge; as triphthongs are extremely rare in Finnish, inflecting such a word and getting it to flow within the Finnish matrix language text is extremely difficult, and a word like this would stand out from the Finnish text much more than it does in the English source text. The same can be said of the word *aéroport* as well; as the French spelling is very similar to the English, an English reader would be able to understand the word without any issues, whereas a Finnish reader might not, as the Finnish word (*lentokenttä*) is very different from both the French and the English.

As was discussed in chapter 3, Danticat tends to favour English words of French origin, which can, in a way, be considered a subtle form of heterolingualism. For example, in the following passage, Sophie talks about her grandmother's idea of *chagrin*: "To my grandmother, *chagrin* was a genuine physical disease. Like a hurt leg or a broken arm. To treat *chagrin*, you drank tea from leaves that only my grandmother and other old wise women could recognize" (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 24). Instead of the more commonly used English word, sorrow, Danticat has used the French-based equivalent *chagrin*, which is a word occasionally used in English but usually not in a context such as this. In the Finnish translation, Tamminen has used the word "suru" (*Breath FI* 1999, 30), which is a commonly used equivalent for the English word sorrow. The subtle gesture towards a French influence is thus not carried over to the translation.

In the translation of *Bones*, Tamminen has added italics to interlingual code-switching – which have not been used in the source text – but, again, as the source text already contains cushioning to a lot of the less intelligible pieces of code-switching, the pressure to domesticate here, too, is quite small. Moreover, as the two Finnish translations were published within a short time frame – the first in 1999 and the second in 2000 – and as it is therefore reasonable to assume that Tamminen worked on the translations, if not simultaneously, at least back-to-back, it can be considered that the italics were added as a matter of consistency. It can also be argued that the use of italics here is a manifestation of the increased conventionality of

translations discussed by Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2016), among others. This conventionality relates more closely to the translation of spoken varieties of language (which I will discuss in more detail in chapter 5), but similar tendencies can perhaps be seen in the italicisation of interlingual code-switching. At the time of the publication of the original works, the campaign towards non-italicisation of code-switching was still very new. *Breath* was published before Díaz had made his stand for non-italicisation, and thus using italics was still common practice. *Bones*, on the other hand, was published quite soon after the beginning of Díaz's campaign, and Finnish publishing houses may not have been aware of the trend or perhaps were reluctant to adopt it at such an early stage. As was mentioned earlier, this practice is still very commonly used in Finnish literature.

Just as in *Breath*, most occurrences of interlingual code-switching in the translation of *Bones* have been maintained. However, there are some omissions to be found. These omissions tend to occur more in the less commonly used word classes. For example, in the following passage, the source text contains a sentence in a mixture of Haitian Creole and English, which is completely in Finnish in the translation:

“Too dark?” he asked.

“A little,” I said.

“**M’renmen darkness**,” he said. “In sugar land, a shack’s for sleeping, not for living. Living is only work, the fields. Darkness means rest.”
(*Bones* [1998] 2000, 107)

”Onko liian pimeä?” hän kysyi.

”Vähän”, minä sanoin.

”**Viis pimeydestä**”, hän sanoi. ”Sokerimaassa maja on nukkumista varten, ei elämistä. Eläminen on pelkkää työtä, peltoja. Pimeys merkitsee lepoa.”
(*Bones FI* 2000, 113)

[“Is it too dark?” he asked.

“A little,” I said.

“Never mind the darkness,” he said. “In sugar land a shack’s for sleeping, not living. Living is only work, the fields. Darkness means rest.”]

The Haitian Creole verb phrase *m’renmen* [I love] has been translated into Finnish as *viis pimeydestä* [never mind the darkness]. Similarly to the example from *Breath*, this verb phrase would have caused issues with regard to Finnish inflection, and thus it seems the translator has omitted the switch in order to maintain fluency. The translator has slightly altered the meaning here, as a more direct translation would

be ‘I love darkness’. At the time when the novel was translated, online resources for Haitian Creole were probably somewhat limited, and it could be the case that Tamminen was not able to find out the meaning of the switch and thus guessed its meaning based on its context, which would also account for the change in meaning.

However, not all Haitian Creole verb phrases have been domesticated by Tamminen. In another passage, the Haitian Creole phrase *kite'm* [leave] has been maintained in the translation: ““You shouldn’t spend too much time with this old man,” he said. “I don’t want to push you out, but **kite’m**. Go see Sebastien now” (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 109). The difference between this and the previous passage, once again, has to do with the invasiveness of the switch. The first phrase, *m’renmen*, is transitive and thus requires an object to be connected to it. In the Finnish language, objects are generally inflected. Especially if the translator has not been confident about the specific meaning of the phrase, choosing the correct inflection for the Finnish object would be challenging. Additionally, using an inflected word in connection to a phrase that the reader might not understand can become confusing. In the second passage, the phrase *kite'm* contains a reflexive verb with an attached pronoun. The phrase in itself thus constitutes a clause and as such does not cause any changes in surrounding structures.

The strategies employed by Danticat in the source texts primarily range from non-illusionistic domestication to explicatory foreignisation. Most instances where interlingual code-switching is used can be categorised as explicatory foreignisation, as cushioning is used in most switches. Non-illusionistic domestication appears, for example, in passages where Haitian Creole has been rendered as English in dialogue between Haitian characters as well as in passages where Haitian Creole proverbs have been translated into English. Tamminen’s strategies in the Finnish translations are positioned similarly. As cushioning is already provided for most switches in the source text, there is no need for added cushioning in the translation. Tamminen has also translated the English translations of Haitian proverbs word for word, maintaining their non-illusionistic nature. Interlingual code-switching in the translations has been inflected according to Finnish grammar when this is required, thus placing a large part of Tamminen’s local strategies in the middle category of the continuum. Some local illusionistic domestication can also be found, more so in the translation of *Bones* than in that of *Breath*. This I argue to be connected to the use of italics in one of the source texts but not in the other.

A considerable amount of cushioning can also be found in Rhys’s *Sargasso*. In addition to the matrix language, which is British English, the text contains interlingual code-switching to French and Antillean Creole as well as spoken language representative of Jamaican Creole. Interlingual code-switching is mostly found in narration, whereas Creole as spoken language is mostly restricted to dialogue. There are, however, some exceptions to this. The book has two main

narrators: parts one and three are narrated by Antoinette, and part two is narrated for the most part by her husband, excluding a section of a few pages, which is again narrated by Antoinette. There is also a section of three paragraphs at the beginning of part three, where the narrator is Grace Poole, the guardian assigned to watch over Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre*. There is relatively little code-switching in the sections narrated by Antoinette's husband; some switches to Standard French and some single Creole words can be found. When the husband uses a Creole word in narration, it is to highlight a difference between his and Antoinette's language: "Every evening we saw the sun go down from the **thatched shelter** she called the *ajoupa*,⁷ I the **summer house**" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 74). In this passage, there is cushioning both in the form of a description ('thatched shelter') and a translation ('summer house').

The way in which Rhys uses cushioning differs somewhat from Danticat's use in that, while Danticat tends to use direct translations of code-switched words and phrases, Rhys's approach is more descriptive. A large part of the cushioning used in *Sargasso* can be found in dialogue between Antoinette and her husband or in the parts narrated by the husband. Placing code-switching and its cushioning in dialogue between these two characters, who represent different cultures, creates a very natural way of explaining the meaning of unfamiliar cultural concepts to the readers.

The character with the most interlingual code-switching in their dialogue is Antoinette's nurse Christophine. Christophine's dialogue is presented in spoken English with occasional switches to Creole words. For example, in the following passage Christophine uses the Antillean Creole word *béké*, which refers to white European colonists: "If *béké* say it foolishness, then it foolishness. *Béké* clever like the devil. More clever than God. Ain't so?" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 97). Here, again, we can see a switch in the matrix language between narration and dialogue; the matrix language of the narration is British English with switches to spoken language in the dialogue, whereas within the dialogue, spoken language then becomes the matrix language with switches to Creole.

In the Finnish translation, most interlingual code-switching found in the source text has been maintained. Just as in the source text, italics are used to separate interlingual code-switching from the matrix language. However, when an item of interlingual code-switching in the translation has been inflected, the inflection has not been italicised in most cases. For example, in the following passage, Antoinette uses the Creole word *glacis*, which has been italicised: "My mother usually walked up and down the *glacis*, a paved roofed-in terrace which ran the length of the house and sloped upwards to a clump of bamboos" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 17). In the translation, Siikarla has maintained the Creole code-switching but inflected it

⁷ "An Amerindian or Amerindian-type hut usu with wattle-and-daub walls and a thatched roof" (*DoCEU* s.v. 'ajoupa')

according to Finnish grammar (partitive), leaving the added inflection without italics: “Äitini yleensä käveli edestakaisin pitkin *glacisia*, **kivettyä ja katettua terassia**, joka jatkui koko talon pituudelta ja kohosi bambuviitaa kohti” (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 16). Consequently, many of Siikarla’s local translation strategies, too, can be placed in the middle category of the continuum of translation strategies.

Additionally, the use of the word *glacis* shows us an instance where frequently occurring items have been toned down in the translation by replacing some of them with a Finnish equivalent. The word *glacis* occurs frequently in part one of the novel, and in this first instance of its use, it has also been cushioned in the source text by providing a description and an English equivalent, terrace. In the translation, the word *glacis* is maintained in its first occurrence with similar cushioning, but all later occurrences have been replaced with the Finnish word for terrace (*terassi*). At the local level, then, all but the first occurrence of the word appear to be instances of illusionistic domestication. Some cushioning that is not present in the source text has also been added to the translation by Siikarla, making the local strategy in these cases explicatory foreignisation rather than the estranging foreignisation of the source text. Siikarla uses cushioning for the types of concepts that she has perhaps considered to be less familiar for the Finnish readership than Rhys seems to have believed them to be for her English-speaking readers. An example of such a concept is *obeah*, a more detailed discussion of which can be found in subsection 4.2.5.

Similarly to Danticat, then, Rhys uses cushioning in most instances of interlingual code-switching in the source text, although Siikarla has also added some cushioning to the translation in the form of short explanations and italics used for words that were not italicised in the source text. Due to this additional cushioning as well as some omissions of repeated occurrences of Creole words, the global strategy of the Finnish translation is located somewhat more towards the domesticating end of the continuum of translation strategies than the source text, which primarily uses a combination of non-illusionistic domestication and explicatory foreignisation.

4.1.2 Middle ground: Novas, García, and Levy

Midway along the continuum of strategies we find the two Cuban novels – Novas’s *Mangos* and García’s *Sisters* – as well as Levy’s *Song*. I have placed these three novels in the middle category because they tend to use less cushioning than Danticat and Rhys. Regarding *Mangos*, Novas uses both overt and covert cushioning for some Cuban Spanish code-switching. This was apparent in the passage quoted in chapter

3, for example, where the author uses overt cushioning for the word *guajiros* and covert cushioning for the word *Guanches*:

What Arnaldo felt and why he gave his life to Jesus had been the subject of much speculation among the *guajiros*, the native peasants, many blond and blue-eyed, whose ancestors, known as *Guanches*, had come to Cuba from the Canary Islands and who were known for their common sense and, some said, their stubborn-as-a-mule and dogged-as-a-dog way of seeing things for what they were and not for what at first the priests and later the politicians swore up and down they were. (*Mangos* 1996, 9)

In the Finnish translation, Selander has changed the sentence structure of this passage, causing the type of cushioning to alter as well; in the translation, both Spanish words are given a description rather than a direct translation. This has also caused *guajiro* to be repeated in the text:

Se mitä Arnaldo silloin tunki ja miksi hän oikeastaan antoi elämänsä Jeesukselle, oli myöhemmin varsinainen pohdiskelun kohde *guajirojen* keskuudessa. *Guajiro*t olivat Kuubassa syntyneitä maatyöläisiä, joista monet olivat vaaleita ja sinisilmäisiä, sillä heidän esi-isänsä, *guanchet*, olivat tulleet Kuubaan Kanariansaarilta. He olivat tunnettuja maalaisjärjestään ja, kuten toiset väittivät, siitä että he itsepäisen muulin ja kovapäisen pässin tapaan näkivät asiat sellaisina kuin ne olivat, sen sijaan että olisivat kuunnelleet ensin pappien ja myöhemmin poliitikkojen jaarituksia siitä millaisia ne muka olivat. (*Mangos FI* 1998, 8–9)

[What Arnaldo felt then and why he gave his life to Jesus was later a real subject of speculation among the *guajiros*. *Guajiros* were Cuban-born peasants, many of whom were blond and blue-eyed, because their ancestors, *guanches*, had come to Cuba from the Canary Islands. They were known for their common sense and, some claimed, that like stubborn mules or hard-headed rams they saw things for what they were instead of listening to the ramblings of first the priests and later the politicians about what things supposedly were.]

Selander has integrated both of the Spanish words into one explanation describing the ancestry of the *guajiros*. Both switches have also been inflected according to Finnish grammar, changing their appearance slightly; the Spanish plural marker ‘-s’ has been replaced with the Finnish plural marker ‘-t’, and the first instance of *guajiro* is in genitive form. The word *Guanches* has also lost its capitalisation in the translation, as names for nationalities are generally not capitalised in Finnish.

The types of overt cushioning seen in the above passage are mostly used for words that are less likely to be recognisable for English-speaking readers. Novas uses many such words in her interlingual code-switching that are so commonly used even among English-speakers that it is possible to assume that most readers will be able to understand them. For example, in the following passage, in which Arnaldo seeks advice from a man he meets at a bar, the Spanish word *amigo* is used without any cushioning: “And the man, understanding the seriousness and sadness of Arnaldo’s intent and in spite of being underwater from his eleventh beer, summoned his most sober persona and acted like the *amigo* he had told him he was” (*Mangos* 1996, 125). The *OED* shows *amigo* being used as a loanword in American English already in the 19th century (*OED*, s.v. ‘amigo’). It is therefore reasonable to assume that an English-speaking reader would not have trouble in understanding the word.

The recognisability of some Spanish words to English-speaking readers is something that Novas seems to exploit to a considerable degree. In one particular instance, she has in fact used code-switching in the cushioning for another item of code-switching; in the following passage, the narrator uses a Spanish phrase which has then been cushioned using another, more recognisable Spanish word: “And this being the case, Don Mario had to face it *como todo un hombre* – **that is to say, like a macho**” (*Mangos* 1996, 28). Here a complete phrase of code-switching into Spanish, *como todo un hombre* [like all man / like the man that he was], has thus been used with an explanation provided for its meaning also containing code-switching into Spanish. The word *macho*, which is also quite commonly used by English-speakers, can be considered to be sufficiently recognisable for English-speaking readers to be used as cushioning for less recognisable Spanish code-switching. In fact, *macho* is such a commonly used loanword in English that it could very arguably be considered a borrowing rather than code-switching in the first place. The *OED* lists the first occurrence of the word from 1943 (*OED*, s.v. ‘macho’). Nevertheless, as the author has used italics for it, as well as the above-mentioned *amigo*, the indication is that the word was meant as a switch to Spanish rather than an English loanword.

I have placed Novas’s novel midway along the continuum because she has used less cushioning for her code-switching than the three previously discussed authors. However, as many of the Spanish words she uses in her switches are easily recognisable, it can be argued that at least some of them have been specifically chosen with a domesticating function in mind. Whether a similar proficiency with common Spanish vocabulary can be expected from a Finnish audience as, for example, from an Anglo-American audience is arguable. Some of the words used by Novas are also commonly used loans in Finnish – for example the word *macho* appears in Finnish dictionaries (see e.g. *Kielitoimiston sanakirja*, s.v. ‘macho’). Other words, such as *amigo*, however, are not considered loanwords in Finnish. The

effect of using such code-switching would thus be more foreignising in the Finnish context that it could be expected to be in the American context.

Finnish used as if it were English also appears in the translation, for example in the previously mentioned passage where Arnaldo uses Bible verses to impress his cousin who does not understand English: ““If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?” he said in English, in the King James version” (*Mangos* 1996, 17). In the Finnish translation, Selander seems to have opted for translating these Bible verses herself rather than using any existing Finnish Bible translation.⁸ The translations are similar to but not exactly the same as the Finnish Bible translations. The verses are written in archaic Finnish and use wordings that are reminiscent of language used in the Bible. The reference to the King James Bible is also maintained in the translation: “”Jos minä Belsebuubin nimissä nyt karkoitan pahat henget, kenen nimissä sinun lapsesi ne karkoittavat?” hän lausui **kuningas Jaakon englannillaan**” (*Mangos FI* 1998, 16) [“If I in the name of Beelzebub cast out evil spirits, in whose name will your children cast them out?” he recited in his **King James English**].

In the translation of *Mangos*, Selander has followed Novas’s lead with most instances of Spanish code-switching, leaving the words in Spanish using italics but no additional cushioning apart from using Finnish inflection where necessary. In some instances, Selander has used italics in words that have not been italicised in the source text. The most consistent changes to code-switching can be seen in the translations of appellatives, as Selander has removed capitalisation from appellatives and used italics in some occurrences of appellatives that have not been italicised in the source text. A more detailed account of the use of appellatives in the translations will follow in subsection 4.2.1.

In García’s *Sisters*, interlingual code-switching is used in a rather similar manner to Novas’s *Mangos*, even though García uses somewhat less cushioning, especially overt cushioning. Both authors seem to use more cushioning at the beginning of the novel than in the later chapters. This can be explained by the level of familiarity with the cultural setting gained by the reader during the process of reading the novel; as the most important cultural items will have been explained in the first chapters, there is less need for cushioning later. García also uses more Cuban Spanish in dialogue between Cuban characters instead of rendering the dialogue completely in English. This means that there are complete sentences in Spanish without added cushioning in several places in the novel. For example, in the following passage, the older of the

⁸ The translation was checked against ten different Finnish Bible translations. The current official translation, which was published in 1992, the previous official translation published in 1938, and the 1776 modernised version of the first full Finnish translation are available online at raamattu.uskonkirjat.net.

sisters, Constanica, is asking for the younger sister Reina to help her in preparing some of the cosmetics she sells: ““*Ayúdame, por favor.*” Her sister decides to prepare a batch of Muslos de Cuba, her new thigh smootheners” (*Sisters* 1997, 159). However, in places where the meaning of the Spanish phrase is more significant for the understanding of the text, cushioning has also been added. In the following passage, Reina is remembering an old lover and his views on feminine beauty: “Pepín, who adored Reina but remained an inveterate woman watcher over the years, admitted that he favored no particular female features. *Cada mujer tiene algo*, he liked to say. **Every woman has something**” (*Sisters* 1997, 159–160).

Tamminen’s translation follows García’s strategy very closely; most occurrences of Spanish code-switching have been maintained, and cushioning is, for the most part, only provided when it exists in the source text. There are a few occasions where Tamminen has used italics in words that were not italicised in the source text, as in the following passage, in which a nickname given to Reina by her co-workers is described: “The most daring of her colleagues call her **Compañera Amazona**, a moniker she secretly relishes” (*Sisters* 1997, 8). In the source text, the word *compañera* [friend] is treated as a proper name rather than code-switching. In the translation, on the other hand, the word is treated as interlingual code-switching and italics are used: “Uskaliaimmat työtovereista nimittivät häntä *compañera Amazonaksi*, josta liikanimestä hän salaa nauttii” (*Sisters FI* 1999, 16). Some interlingual code-switching is also omitted from the translation. For example, in a passage where Constanica’s husband Heberto’s attitude towards his wife’s favourite radio programme is discussed, the repeated occurrence of the word *milagro* [miracle] is omitted from the translation:

Constancia turns on the radio to her favorite show, *La Hora de los Milagros*, and ponders the latest news: a rash of Virgin sightings in and around the tourist hotels of Cozumel [...] During the call-in portion of the program, a man from the Bronx reports in with another **miracle** [...] Heberto is impatient with Constanica’s obsessions, characterizes the *milagros* as nothing more than freakish incidents grounded in perfectly logical explanations. (*Sisters* 1997, 23)

Constancia avaa radion kuunnellakseen lempiohjelmaansa, *La hora de los milagros*, ja pohdiskelee viimeisiä uutisia: neitsythavaintojen tulvaa Cozumelin turistihotelleissa ja niiden tienoilla [...] Ohjelman puhelinosuuden aikana joku bronxilainen mies ilmoittaa uudesta **ihmeestä** [...] Constancian päähänpinttymät käyvät Heberton hermoille ja hän kuvaa **ihmeitä** pelkiksi omituisuuksiksi, joille on täysin järkevä selitys. (*Sisters FI* 1999, 32–33)

García has used the word *miracle* in both Spanish and English in the source text passage. Tamminen has maintained the first occurrence of the word in Spanish in the name of the radio show but translated the repeated occurrence of the word on its own. This is perhaps related to the appearance of the word, as the English translation in the source text is very similar to the original word in Spanish, and thus the switch is reasonably understandable for the source text reader. However, the Finnish equivalent, *ihme*, is very different from the Spanish word *milagro*, and consequently the switch is not as easily recognisable for a Finnish reader.

The third novel that I have placed midway in the continuum of translation strategies is Levy's *Song*. As was explained earlier in chapter 3, Levy's style of writing causes the borders between different language varieties to become blurred, and thus distinguishing between what should be considered interlingual code-switching and what should be considered spoken language is quite challenging. From the perspective of the source text, this distinction has very little importance, as Levy's purpose has clearly been to create a narrative where heterolingualism becomes the unmarked choice. However, when the novel is translated into another language, the translator does need to make a choice on whether to consider specific words as interlingual switches or spoken language. In the previous texts, where the matrix language and the embedded language are not closely related to each other (such as in the case of Danticat's Haitian Creole or Novas's Cuban Spanish), delineating this boundary is much more straightforward.

Kinnunen's solution in the Finnish translation has been to use italics for those words that she has treated as interlingual code-switching. It is not clear in all cases whether the language here should be considered English or Jamaican Creole, either, as Kinnunen has also maintained such words as *massa* and *missus*, which appear in the text quite frequently. However, as these words in the translation are separated from a Finnish rather than an English matrix language text, the nature of the switches becomes much more clear-cut. Of the three novels discussed in this middle category, Kinnunen's translation contains the most domestication of interlingual code-switching. This is related to the complex nature of Levy's language use and the difficulty of determining clear boundaries between language varieties. Additionally, as Levy has not used italics in the source text, the determination of where these borders should be placed is left for the translator. In Kinnunen's translation, as in many of the others, the most consistent changes made to items of interlingual code-switching in the translation are related to code-switching in appellatives, which will be discussed further in subsection 4.2.1. Similarly to Siikarla's translation of Rhys's *Sargasso*, Kinnunen has also occasionally opted for retaining the first occurrence of a recurring item of code-switching while domesticating repeated occurrences. This is done for example for the word *jumbie*, as I will clarify in subsection 4.2.4.

4.1.3 Explicatory and estranging foreignisation: Naipaul and Antoni

The strategies of intercultural translation employed by the two Trinidadian authors, Naipaul and Antoni, can be situated more towards the foreignisation end of the continuum, as they tend not to use cushioning as much as the other authors discussed above. Naipaul does use italics for his code-switching but tends to add very little else in the way of cushioning. Interlingual code-switching in the two Naipaul novels, *Masseur* and *House*, occurs mostly between English and Hindi, but there are also occasional Trinidadian Creole words used. As the main characters in both novels are part of the Hindu community in Trinidad, switches to Hindi are mainly related to their customs and traditions. For example, the word *puja*⁹ is used repeatedly in both novels. In contrast, switches to Trinidadian Creole are mostly related to the natural surroundings of Trinidad, for example names of plants. This topic is examined further in subsection 4.2.3.

Loponen has also followed the strategy employed by the author quite closely. Naipaul's use of italics has been carried over to the Finnish translation; Loponen has not used italics even in words that would be considered foreign in a Finnish text, if they were not seen as interlingual code-switching in the source text. This can be seen in *Masseur* in a passage where the narrator meets the protagonist Ganesh for the first time and is surprised by his ordinary appearance, not conforming to the boy's idea of what a mystic should look like: "Presently a young man came out on the small verandah. He was dressed in the ordinary way, trousers and vest, and I didn't think he looked particularly holy. He wasn't wearing the **dhoti** and **koortah** and turban I had expected" (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 3–4). Here, the author has only italicised the word *koortah*,¹⁰ whereas the word *dhoti*¹¹ he has considered sufficiently familiar not to warrant italicisation.¹² Loponen, in his translation, has followed the same pattern:

⁹ *Puja* is the word used for Hindu worship (Whaling 2010, 50).

¹⁰ "A loose, light-fitting upper garment, usu high-necked, long-sleeved, and reaching below the waist; it is traditionally a man's formal garment, made of plain white cotton and worn with a DHOTI, but embroidered variations are now also fashionable women's wear" (*DoCEU*, s.v. 'kurta')

¹¹ "An EAST INDIAN man's white loin-cloth consisting of a single piece of cloth wrapped around the waist, folded over and passed loosely between the legs" (*DoCEU* s.v. 'dhoti')

¹² In a conversation with lexicographer Dr Jeannette Allsopp, she pointed out to me that *dhoti*, as a more established word in Trinidadian Creole, would be considered a loanword, whereas *koortah* would not. Consequently, this passage could be considered an example of one of those occasions where the diachronic distinction between code-switching and borrowing is indeed visible in the text.

“Sitten pienelle verannalle astui nuori mies. Hän oli pukeutunut tavalliseen tapaan, housuihin ja aluspaitaan, eikä hän minusta vaikuttanut erityisen pyhältä. Hän ei ollut sonnustautunut **dhotiin** ja **koortahiin**, kuten olin odottanut” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 14). Neither *dhoti* nor *koortah* are common types of garment in Finland – and certainly were not in the 1970s when the translation was published – and consequently italicising both instead of just one would have been understandable. The translator has, however, followed the path indicated by Naipaul. Another noteworthy point here is that Loponen has omitted the third item of clothing, turban, from the translation altogether. Whether this is an accidental omission or a conscious choice on the part of the translator can only be speculated about. In any case, this does not appear to be the kind of omission that would have a significant effect on the tone of the translation more generally.

As was already explained in subsection 2.2.2, Loponen’s translations of Naipaul’s texts are among those older translations where italics in interlingual code-switching are only used for the stem of the word, whereas any added Finnish inflections have not been italicised. In Loponen’s translations, this division into ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ parts of a word also appear in other constructions besides added Finnish inflections. For example, in the following passage from *House*, the Hindi word *cheelum*, which is a kind of smoking pipe, is used:

In the arcade of Hanuman House, grey and substantial in the dark, there was already the evening assembly of old men, squatting on sacks on the ground and on tables now empty of Tulsi Store goods, pulling at clay *cheelums* that glowed red and smelled of ganja and burnt sacking. (*House* [1961] 2000, 193)

In the translation, Loponen has used the Hindi word as part of a compound word in which the Finnish word for clay (*savi*) forms the other half of the word:

Arkadissa Hanuman Housen edessä, joka kohosi harmaana ja jyhkeänä pimeässä, istuksi jo jokailtainen ukkokatras säkkien päällä maassa ja Tulsin Myymälän tavaroista tyhjentyneillä pöydillä tuprutellen **savicheelumeja**, jotka hehkuivat punaisina ja tuoksuivat hampulle ja käryävälle säkkikankaalle. (*House FI* 1984, 208)

As can be seen from the passage, the Finnish half of the compound word is not italicised, whereas the Hindi half is. In this case, Loponen has made the exception of italicising the Finnish inflection added to the word, probably due to the word already having a non-italicised part; having an italicised section of a word in the middle of two sections that are not italicised would stand out much more than a word with just one part of each.

Most interlingual code-switching has been maintained in the translation, and very little cushioning is added by the translator. There are, however, some exceptions. For example, in the following passage, cushioning is used with the Hindi word *raksha*, which has not been explained in the source text: “‘You will be hearing from my solicitor,’ Mr Biswas said. ‘And those two *rakshas* you have with you. They too.’” (*House* [1961] 2000, 387). Loponen has left the code-switching in the translation but added a translation into Finnish after it: “‘Sinä kuulet vielä minun asianajajalta’, mr Biswas sanoi. ‘Ja nuo kaksi *rakshaa* myös, nuo *kätyrisi*. Ne myös.’” (*House FI* 1984, 418) [‘You will be hearing from my solicitor,’ Mr Biswas said. ‘And those two *rakshas*, too, those *henchmen* of yours. They too.’]. In another passage, code-switching is omitted altogether; in *House*, the Hindi word *suttee*¹³ is used in a passage where Mr Biswas attends a Hindu funeral, which is followed by a group of curious locals: “Sharma’s widow shrieked, fainted, revived and tried to fling herself into the grave. The villagers watched with interest. Some of the knowing whispered about *suttee*” (*House* [1961] 2000, 414). This instance of Hindi code-switching has been domesticated in the translation: “Jotkut tietäväiset kuiskasivat jotakin **leskenpoltosta**” (*House FI* 1984, 447) [Some of the knowing whispered something about **widow-burning**]. Presumably the goal here has been to make the text more understandable, as the original phrase would not make sense for a Finnish reader who was not familiar with Hindu tradition.

Naipaul tends to use some Trinidadian Creole vocabulary that has not been italicised, which would indicate that he has not considered these particular words interlingual code-switching in the source text. Perhaps for this very reason these types of words do tend to be omitted from the translation. One such example is the Creole verb *fête*¹⁴ used in *House*, when Mr Biswas and his family visit his relatives: “They were **fêted** at Pratap’s; Bipti was embarrassingly devoted and their cousins were shy and admiring and kind” (*House* [1961] 2000, 349). The word is also used as a loanword in English (*OED*, s.v. ‘fête, v.’) in at least partly similar contexts, which makes it easier for an English-speaking reader to understand its meaning (and is also perhaps the reason why Naipaul has not italicised the word). For a Finnish reader, this would not be as understandable. In this instance, Loponen has used a strategy of illusionistic domestication, as no trace of the Creole roots of this expression can be seen in the Finnish translation: “Pratapilla **pidettiin pidot** heidän kunniakseen; Bipti oli suorastaan kiusallisen hellä, ja serkut olivat ujoja, ihailevia ja kilttejä” (*House FI* 1984, 377) [At Pratap’s **a feast was held** in their honour; Bipti

¹³ The prohibited and obsolete Hindu custom of burning widows with their deceased husbands (Whaling 2010, 24)

¹⁴ “To make merry by dancing, JUMPING UP, eating, and drinking; to party and spree generously” (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘fete’)

was outright embarrassingly gentle, and the cousins were shy, admiring and kind]. *Pidot* is a Finnish word that traditionally refers to the type of party where food and drink is served. Here, again, we have an example of a word that is not italicised and, additionally, is not a noun. These two conditions make it extremely likely for this type of code-switching to be omitted; as we can see, Lopenen has domesticated the switch, even though overall his tendency has been to choose foreignising rather than domesticating strategies.

Antoni uses a rather limited amount of cushioning in his novels. In contrast to the two Naipaul novels discussed above, Antoni does not italicise interlingual code-switching. Just as in the case of Kinnunen's translation of Levy's *Song*, then, Antoni's translators are left with the task of drawing boundaries between what should be considered spoken language and what counts as an interlingual switch to Creole. This boundary is particularly difficult to draw in the case of *Folktales*, as it differs significantly from the other texts discussed in this dissertation in its use of language. Spoken language has not been limited to dialogue but the whole text is in the form of stories told by the 97-year-old Grandmother Domingo who speaks Trinidadian Creole. Consequently, the distinction between different language varieties is blurred, just as it was in *Song*. The distinction between language varieties is thus more relevant for the translator than it is for the reader.

In this case, however, the translator does not seem to have considered the distinction necessary, either. In my interview with Sumari, she states that she does not think of *Folktales* primarily as a heterolingual text. Her analysis of the language of the novel was a mixture of a variety of English with occasional Spanish mixed in. From her perspective, the use of spoken language presented itself as the more significant feature. Unfamiliarity with the specificities of Trinidadian Creole seems to have played some part here; although she reports having consulted a Creole dictionary, the dictionary she had available to her at the time was not one specific for Trinidadian Creole but one rather more focused on the vocabulary of French-lexifier creoles. This would have naturally limited its usefulness for Trinidadian Creole vocabulary. Furthermore, there are some Trinidadian Creole expressions that she seems to have categorised as neologisms rather than interlingual switches. She mentions for example such words as *vie-kee-vie*¹⁵ (e.g. *Folktales* 2000, 20) and *washykongs*¹⁶ (*Folktales* 2000, 35), which she has interpreted as a kind of child speech, the grandmother's attempt to sound youthful when telling stories to her

¹⁵ "Lackadaisical; disorderly; unplanned; chaotic; irresponsible; without care or thought" (*DotECoTT* s.v. 'vai-ki-vai, vaille-que-vaille, vai-qui-vai, vai-ki-vai vie-que-vie, vike-e-vike, vi-ke-vi, vikey-vy, vy-kee-vy, vy-ki-vy')

¹⁶ "Rubber-soled canvas shoes; sneakers; plimsolls; running shoes" (*DotECoTT* s.v. 'washikong, wachekong, washeekong, washikong watchekong, watchi-kong')

grandson and his friends. The Finnish translations of these particular words do, however, come very close to their dictionary definitions, which would suggest that she did look them up. The difference of perspective, then, is perhaps more in whether or not it is necessary to treat Creole as a language distinct from the locally used variety of English in a text that switches from one to the other with considerable fluidity.

On occasions where Sumari has considered a word interlingual code-switching, foreignising strategies are also used. Much of interlingual code-switching has been omitted – which would fall under the category of illusionistic domestication – and some has been maintained with added italics as well as occasional cushioning of other types, which in turn would be considered explicatory foreignisation. In the following example, the narrator mentions a local dish, *roti*. In the translation, this has been italicised and cushioned:

So when the festival started everybody was drinking rum, eating **roti**, and playing music and thing (*Folktales* 2000, 4)

Kun juhlat alkoivat niin kaikki joivat rommia ja söivät **paistettua lihaa, rotia**, ja musiikki pelasi ja kaikkea (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 9)

[When the party started everybody was drinking rum and **eating fried meat, roti**, and music was playing and everything]

In the cushioning added by Sumari, she describes *roti* as fried meat (*paistettua lihaa*). This could be considered a way to distinguish between the type of roti bread commonly associated with Indian cuisine – which the book's Finnish readers would be more familiar with – and the type of roti commonly found in Trinidad, where it is normally served as a wrap filled with, among other things, fried meat. Another occasion where Sumari has added cushioning to her translation is in a passage referencing the Trinidadian carnival tradition: "By now the whole of Mucurapo had reached at my doorstep to see this King that nobody had never seen nothing like this before, not even on **Jouvert morning!**" (*Folktales* 2000, 10). Jouvert is the name used of the first day of carnival in Trinidad. To a Finnish reader not familiar with the carnival tradition, this reference would not be understandable, and thus Sumari has made the reference more overt with added cushioning: "Siihen mennessä koko Mucurapon väki oli kerääntynyt mun portaiden eteen katsomaan tätä Kuningasta jonka kaltaista kukaan ei ollut ennen nähnyt, ei edes **Jouvertin aamuna kun karnevaalit alkaa!**" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 14) [By then the whole of Mucurapo had gathered in front of my steps to look at this King the likes of whom nobody had ever seen before, not even on **Jouvert morning when the carnival begins!**].

Uncushioned (with the exception of italicisation) foreignisation appears most often with switches to Spanish, such as in the following passage describing the drunken antics of the King of Chacachacari and some American soldiers: “So when we returned to the King now he and the soldiers were good and **borracho**” (*Folktales* 2000, 27). Here, Sumari has merely added italics to the Spanish word without any additional cushioning: “Kun me palattiin Kuninkaan luokse, se ja ne sotilaat oli erinomaisen *borracho*” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 33). There are also some occasions where Sumari has added interlingual code-switching that does not appear in the source text. These are mainly connected to terms that are closely related to American culture, such as *cowboy* or *ranch* (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 30–31). Such allusions to American culture would generally be more familiar to a Finnish reader than references to Trinidadian culture, and thus leaving them in English does not significantly hinder the Finnish reader’s understanding of the text.

Both similarities and significant differences can be seen in the strategies used by the two Finnish translators of Antoni’s novels. Although the amount of spoken language used in *Carnival* cannot be said to come anywhere close to the amount found in *Folktales*, spoken language is still used more frequently than other types of code-switching. In terms of interlingual code-switching, mainly single words or short phrases are used. Just as in *Folktales*, interlingual code-switching in *Carnival* has not been italicised, and the flow between English and Creole is very natural: “the prizes often went to the most obzockee, coskell costumes in the lineup” (*Carnival* 2005, 146). However, drawing a boundary between spoken language and interlingual code-switching in *Carnival* is somewhat easier than in *Folktales*, because the matrix language used is American English. Antoni uses very little cushioning for his interlingual code-switching in *Carnival*, too, but the types of words he writes in Creole are usually quite easily understood from the surrounding context of the text or at least minimally obtrusive when it comes to following the flow of the story. In the above example, the Creole words *obzockee*¹⁷ and *coskell*¹⁸ refer to the appearance of costumes made for the carnival.

On occasion, Aaltonen has maintained interlingual code-switching to Trinidadian Creole in his translation without even adding italics, making his choice of local strategy in these instances estranging foreignisation. This can be seen for example in a phone conversation between the protagonist William and his friend Laurence: ““**Compère**,” I’d said into the receiver, surprised, genuinely excited to hear his voice. “Me ain’t hit a ball since Bazil wearing shortpants!”” (*Carnival* 2005,

¹⁷ “[Of furniture, clothes, colours, etc] Misshapen; ill-fitting; very odd-looking; clumsily put together” (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘obsocky’)

¹⁸ “[Of dress] Being ridiculously mismatched in colours” (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘coskel’)

6). In the translation, the word *compère*¹⁹ is maintained: “”**Compère**”, sanoin puhelimeen yllättyneenä, aidosti innoissani kuullessani hänen äänensä. ”Meikäläinen ei ole lyönyt karvapalloa sen koommin, kun Bazil alkoi käyttää shortseja!”” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 13).

In the majority of instances, however, Aaltonen has domesticated Antoni’s interlingual code-switching. For example, in the following passage, William is describing how, growing up in Trinidad, he and all his friends were infatuated²⁰ with the same girl, Rachel:

And it’s no overstatement to tell you that a good number of those boys quickly succumbed to conditions known to us by a few words which, even visually, seem far more suggestive than their synonyms in the *OED*. All of those boys went **tootoolbay, assasataps, tarranjee-banjee** over Rachel. (*Carnival* 2005, 49)

Eikä ole liioittelua sanoa, että suurin osa noista pojista lankesi tilaan, josta kotipuolella käytetyt sanat kirjoitettuinakin näyttävät puhuttelevammilta kuin niiden synonyymit Oxfordin englannin sanakirjassa. Kaikki nuo pojat olivat menneet **tuttelis tattelis, sutitupsis ja banjoiksi** Rachelista. (*Carnival FI* 2005, 66–67)

The translations chosen by Aaltonen are similar to the source text in sound. They could be classified as a type of euphemistic neologism for infatuation. It is interesting that the translator has chosen a domesticating strategy in this context where – through referencing the *OED* – such a clear comparison is drawn between British English and the language of Trinidad, a link which the Finnish translation does maintain. A similar strategy of domestication can be seen in the following example, where Antoni has used the Trinidadian Creole word *bazodee*,²¹ which Aaltonen has translated with a kind of onomatopoetic neologism:

¹⁹ “A term of address or reference used between the father and god-father of a child, or between close friends; also sometimes used as a respectful term of address for an unknown adult man” (*DotECoTT* s.v. ‘compere, compe, compeh’)

²⁰ *Tootoolbay* (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘toutoulbé’) and *tarranjee-banjee* (*DotECoTT* s.v. ‘taranj, tarangi, taranjee’) are both Trinidadian Creole words referring to strong infatuation, especially the unreciprocal kind, in the case of the latter. The word *assasataps* did not appear in the dictionaries consulted.

²¹ “1. stunned; 2. bewildered, confused, dizzy; 3. light in the head, turned stupid” (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘bazo(u)di’)

We were talking about Minshall's latest infatuation.

"They call him Eddoes," Oony was saying. "Seventeen, but innocent as a twelve-year-old. Like he's never even been in the outside world."

"He's gorgeous," this was Shay-Lee. "And don't talk about his body! He has Minshall **bazodee**, when I tell you. Following the boy round mascamp all day long like a lost puppy." (*Carnival* 2005, 81)

Juttelimme Minshallin tuoreimmasta ihastuksesta.

"Häntä kutsutaan Eddoesiksi", Oony kertoi. "Seitsemäntoistakesäinen mutta puhtoinen kuin kaksitoistavuotias. Voisi luulla, ettei hän ole koskaan käynyt ulkomaailmassa."

"Hän on upea", puuttui Shayling puheeseen. "Ja mikä kroppa! Minshall on kuule ihan **badamtam**. Seurailee poikaa ympäri naamiaisleiriä kuin mikäkin koiranpennun räpäle." (*Carnival FI* 2005, 110)

[We were chatting about Minshall's latest infatuation.

"He's called Eddoes", Oony told. "Seventeen years old but pure like a twelve-year-old. One would think he has never been in the outside world."

"He's gorgeous", Shayling broke in. "And what a body! Minshall is all **badamtam**. Follows the boy around mascamp like a little puppy."]

Aaltonen's onomatopoeic translation, *badamtam*, is reminiscent of a beating heart. In terms of the continuum of translation strategies, these would be categorised as non-illusionistic domestication; although the code-switching used in the source text is lost, some sense of strangeness is present in the translation. Whether this is the kind of strangeness that directs the Finnish reader towards the idea of a spoken Creole is arguable.

In addition to these onomatopoeic words and neologisms, more straightforward illusionistic domestication can be found in the translation as well. In the previously mentioned passage, where the narrator is describing the selection of Carnival King and Queen, we again get unitalicised adjectives in Trinidadian Creole:

no matter how obvious things looked there was no accounting for these judges' tastes: the prizes often went to the most **obzockee**, **coskell** costumes in the lineup. (*Carnival* 2005, 146)

vaikka kaikki olisi näyttänyt kuinka selvältä tahansa, niin tuomariston makuun ei ollut luottamista: palkinnot menivät usein kaikkein **ufoimmille**, **friikeimmille** puville. (*Carnival FI* 2005, 191)

[even if everything seemed as clear as anything, there's no trusting the judges' taste: the prizes often when to **the most far out, freaky** dresses.]

The word *obzockee* is used elsewhere in the text as well, and its translation is dependent on the context in which it is used, although all occurrences do get domesticated in the translation. In the above example, *obzockee* becomes *ufoimmille* [the most far out, weird-looking], whereas in the following example, its translation is *megalomaaninen* [megalomaniac]:

Minshall's design allows his Kings to carry a costume weighing a couple of hundred pounds in a way that seems effortless. [...] Not some enormous, **obzockee** structure dragged behind, across mainstage. (*Carnival* 2005, 110-111)

Minshallin keksinnön ansiosta hänen kuninkaansa pystyvät kantamaan jopa 90 kiloa painavaa pukuaan kevyen näköisesti. [...] Eikä mikään **megalomaaninen** rakennelma, joka vain raahataan esiintymislavan poikki. (*Carnival FI* 2005, 146)

[Thanks to Minshall's invention, his kings are able to carry their suits weighing up to 90 kilos in a way that looks light. [...] Not some **megalomaniac** structure, that just gets dragged across the stage.]

Here, then, the translation of the code-switching is assimilated into the other adjective in the noun phrase. The passages above show a wide variety of different strategies used in the translation, although most commonly Aaltonen has opted for domesticating strategies. During the interview conducted with Aaltonen, he says that he responded to code-switching mostly on a case-by-case basis rather than having a consistent global strategy in mind, which also accounts for the variety in the strategies used for individual instances of code-switching.

As is apparent from the above examples, many of the translation strategies related to interlingual code-switching in the two Antoni translations can be placed towards the domesticating end of the continuum of translation strategies. As Antoni's works are, of the ten novels discussed in this dissertation, among those located furthest towards the foreignising end of the continuum, this does create a much larger gap between the strategies used by the author and those used by the translators than in the other novels. In the following section, the strategies of the authors and the translators are discussed in more detail with regard to six of the most commonly used semantic categories for interlingual code-switching.

4.2 Types of interlingual code-switching

The interlingual code-switching found in the novels has here been divided into six categories: names and appellatives, exclamations and expletives, flora and fauna, references to oral tradition, references to religion, and other culturally specific items. This categorisation is not meant to be an exhaustive list of all interlingual code-switching found in the texts but rather a demonstration of the types of code-switching that are most commonly used for the purposes of cultural representation. As culture, tradition, and religion are very closely linked concepts in Caribbean communities, many of these categories are intertwined, and it can be hard to draw boundaries between them.

The vast majority of interlingual code-switching found in the ten novels can be placed in one of the six categories introduced in this section. The categorisations here are connected to Callahan's (2004, 70) work on the types of written code-switching in her Spanish/English corpus (see 2.1.3). I have, however, deviated from Callahan's method of categorisation in the sense that she is basing her division on the function of the switches, whereas I found a more semantically driven approach to be more useful for the purposes of this study. This means that more than one function may be attributed to the items designated to a particular semantic category, and items in different categories may serve the same functions. Nevertheless, there is sufficient overlap between Callahan's categories and mine to merit a comparison.

4.2.1 Names and appellatives

Names and appellatives are one of the most common categories of interlingual code-switching in the ten novels. It is one of the categories where interlingual code-switching is most likely to appear as well as one of the categories where it is most likely that the switch is carried over to the translation. All ten novels use interlingual code-switching for at least some names and appellatives. This section will take a closer look at the various functions of code-switching used in this specific setting as well as compare and analyse some of the strategies used by the translators in carrying them over into the Finnish translations.

This category corresponds with what Callahan (2004, 70) has termed vocatives in her categorisation of the functions of code-switching between Spanish and English in a written corpus. She explains that she has excluded proper names but also some kinship terms that look similar in Spanish and in English; for example, "*papá* and *mamá* were not counted as switches, whereas *hermana* 'sister', *abuelo* 'grandfather',

and *mijo* ‘my son’ were” (ibid, 71). A more inclusive approach has been chosen in the categorisation here. In my case, leaving words out on the basis of their similarity to English words would not be justifiable as such, as these words would then also need to look similar in Finnish. Moreover, especially in the case of texts where the author has italicised interlingual code-switching, the translators tend to make the determination of whether a specific item should be considered interlingual code-switching based on how the author has treated it. This, then, is also the basis of my classification.

The general strategy of dealing with appellatives seems to be very similar across all translations. In most instances, interlingual code-switching in appellatives has been maintained in the translations. One of the reasons for the frequency of the use of code-switched appellatives in both the source texts and the translations can be argued to be their ease of implementation; appellatives rarely carry the type of meaning that would be crucial for the understanding of the text if not understood by the reader. Their meaning is also very often easy to infer from the surrounding context, especially when the author alternates between code-switched appellatives and English ones within the same text, as is the case in many instances. Consequently, appellatives can be likened to exclamations (another commonly used type of interlingual code-switching, see 4.2.2) in that they place very little strain on matrix language grammatical structures. Another possible reason for the frequent use of code-switching in appellatives relates to the differences between the perceived levels of intimacy between different languages. English is not the first language of many of the characters in these novels and as such it is considered less intimate than the first languages of these characters. Switching to a more familiar language or using terms of endearment when addressing family members is thus a sign of intimacy between the characters.

Although interlingual code-switching in appellatives is mostly maintained in the translations, they are also often modified during the translation process. For example, capitalisation has been removed from most occurrences, as the general rule in Finnish grammar is not to capitalise appellatives. This has the function of making the code-switching fit into the Finnish matrix language text more naturally, as a capitalised appellative would stand out more in a Finnish text. In terms of italics, the strategies seem to vary even within texts. In most instances, words that are italicised in the source text are also italicised in the translations. However, in texts where italics are not used in the source texts, the practice of adding italics varies, as some more easily understandable words have been left as they are but less familiar words for the Finnish reader have been italicised. Italics can also be used in situations where differing meanings between the source and target languages might cause confusion in the translation. Some other methods of cushioning are also used, although not often, as appellatives in general are not crucial for the understanding of the text.

For the purposes of this discussion, the appellatives found in these novels have been divided into three different categories: Firstly, there are appellatives that are used to refer to specific characters. These can occur both independently as well as in connection to names. The second category is proper names that carry some meaning that is significant in itself. The third group are terms of endearment that specific characters use of one another. Some types of appellatives can be placed in more than one of these categories, and their categorisation depends heavily on the context in which they are used. For example, words for mother and father can be used in various different functions, as will become apparent from the examples below.

Danticat uses interlingual code-switching in appellatives for various ends in both novels. In *Breath*, names and appellatives are commonly written in Haitian Creole. In some cases, as a form of cushioning, the first occurrence of the appellative is given in English and the rest in Haitian Creole; for example, Tante Atie is called “aunt” the first time she is mentioned (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 3). Similarly, when the word *manman*, mother, is introduced in the text, it is also given in English, as Tante Atie is instructing Sophie how to address her mother when they meet: “Martine was a wonderful sister. She will be a great mother to you [...] from now on, her name is *Manman*” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 29–30). In *Bones*, appellatives are used in the novel to indicate where a character comes from, and thus Dominican and Haitian characters can be differentiated based on how they are addressed: Dominican characters in Spanish and Haitian characters in Haitian Creole. For example, Amabelle calls her Dominican employer Señora Valencia, whereas the mother of her Haitian friend is called Man Rapadou.

In García’s *Sisters*, the two sisters have different words for both their mother and father. This is an indication of the level of intimacy between the sisters and the parents. The older sister Constancia calls her father *Papi* and her mother *Mamá*, whereas the younger sister Reina calls her (adoptive) father *Papá* and her mother *Mami*. *Mami* and *Papi* can be considered more intimate than *Mamá* and *Papá*, which is an indication of which parent each of the sisters considers dearer to them. In the following passage, where Reina reminisces about the past, we can see both words used to refer to the father, depending on whether the perspective is her own or her sister’s:

Constancia rarely mentions their mother, despite the thousands of royal-blue bottles she processes daily, despite Mami’s face firmly cemented over hers. For her sister, it’s always **Papi** this and **Papi** that, as if their mother had never existed. Constancia and her fretwork amnesia. Constancia and her worn, jarring lies. **Papá** also had lied. (*Sisters* 1997, 235)

Tamminen, who has translated all three of the above-mentioned novels, has maintained most code-switching of this type but has removed any capitalisation used in them, as is common in Finnish. Italics are primarily used in the translations only for those instances of appellatives that are italicised in the source texts, too. An exception to this is the word *abuelo* [grandfather] used in the following passage: “After Mamá threatened to leave again, Papi took Constancia to stay on **Abuelo Ramón’s** ranch in Camagüey” (*Sisters* 1997, 45). Just as in the case of the word *compañera* mentioned in subsection 4.1.2, Tamminen has translated the word *abuelo* here as interlingual code-switching rather than a proper name: “Kun mamá oli uhannut taas lähteä, papi vei Constancian **abuelo Ramónin** tilalle Camagüeyhin” (*Sisters FI* 1999, 55).

Similarly, in the translation of *Bones*, switches containing appellatives have not been italicised, making them distinct from other types of switches, which have been italicised even though no italics are used in the source text. This is seen in the passage where Amabelle’s employer goes into labour: ““¡Ay, no!” the **señora** shouted through her clenched grinding teeth” (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 5). In the translation, then, italics have been added to the Spanish exclamation but not the appellative: ““¡Ay, **no!**” **señora** huusi tiukasti yhteen purtujen hampaidensa välistä” (*Bones FI* 2000, 13). This treatment shows that Tamminen has considered these words similar to proper names rather than regular instances of interlingual code-switching.

In Novas’s *Mangos*, the daughter Esmeralda uses the word *Papá* to refer to her father. Other appellatives in Spanish are also occasionally used, such as *amigo* (*Mangos* 1996, 116) and *señor* (*Mangos* 1996, 121). In the source text, only the first instance of *Papá* has been italicised, whereas the rest have been left without italics. For the other appellatives, all occurrences have been italicised. In the translation, Selander has maintained code-switching in these appellatives but italicised all occurrences as well as removed capitalisation.

Levy’s *Song* contains frequent use of appellatives, especially those referring to the master and mistress of the plantation. In July’s narration, they are mostly referred to as *massa* and *missus*. These two words are used extremely frequently in the novel, often multiple times within one page. In the translation, Kinnunen has maintained most occurrences of these words while adding italics to them as well as inflecting them according to Finnish grammar. On a few occasions, mostly towards the beginning of the novel, she has also brought in some added cushioning by attaching to the item of code-switching a Finnish translation with a hyphen: “Rose oli suosittu lapsenpäästäjä plantaasilla, sillä hänen rohtojensa avulla syntyneet lapset olivat yhtä kukoistavan pontevia kuin kenen tahansa valkoisen **missus-rouvan** hemmotellut jälkeläiset” (*Song FI* 2014, 17) [Rose was the favoured attendant for births on the plantation, because children born with the help of her remedies were as thrivingly vigorous as any spoiled offspring of a white *missus*]. In addition to providing a

translation for the code-switching, this has the added benefit of avoiding some tricky inflections, as in this form, only the Finnish part has been inflected. This is also an example of a situation where the translation strategy can be both foreignising and domesticating at the same time; the first part of the word is clearly indicated as interlingual code-switching, while the latter part provides cushioning for the switch.

In Kinnunen's translation, italics have been added to some appellatives while others have been left without. This is most likely related to the words' familiarity to a Finnish reader, as for example *missus* has been italicised but *mama* has not. In some instances, issues can also be caused by items of code-switching that are similar in appearance to Finnish words with a different meaning, which requires them to be marked in order to avoid confusion. This is the case, for example, with the word *massa*, which is Finnish for the physics term 'mass'. Leaving such a word without italics or cushioning in the Finnish text could thus cause unnecessary strain for the reader. Similarly, there is a passage in the translation where one occurrence of the word *papa* is italicised while another one is not:

Clara was not only a lady's maid, she was a quadroon. Clara's mama was a handsome mullatto housekeeper to her **papa**, a naval man from Scotch Land. Her **papa** died just before he was to manumit her and her mama. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 91)

Clara ei ollutkaan mikä tahansa kamaripiika, sillä hän oli kvarteroni. Claran mama oli upea mulatti, joka oli toiminut taloudenhoitajana Claran **papa-isälle**, joka taas oli ollut laivaston miehiä skottien maasta. **Papa** oli kuollut ennen kuin hän oli ehtinyt vapauttaa maman ja Claran (*Song FI* 2014, 82)

Kinnunen has also added cushioning in the form of a Finnish translation. Presumably this has been a choice made in order to circumvent the need to inflect the code-switching, as this would cause a confusion with the Finnish word *papalle*, which is the allative form of grandfather instead of father. The singular nominative form for grandfather in Finnish is *pappa*, and thus the confusion only occurs with inflected forms. With the addition of cushioning, the translator has been able to move the case ending to the Finnish part of the word.

With regard to Naipaul, an extensive number of different kinds of names and appellatives appear in both of the novels discussed in this dissertation. These include, for example, children's names for their parents as well as different types of honorary titles. For the most part, as is already apparent from the Finnish title, *Talo mr Biswasille*, Loponen has maintained code-switching in these appellatives. On occasion, Loponen's strategy of maintaining code-switching has in fact resulted in added code-switching in the translation. In *Masseur*, many second-person addresses

in Ramlogan's dialogue with Ganesh have been replaced with *sahib*, which is a Hindi/Urdu word for 'master'. This can be seen in the following passage, in which Ramlogan is comparing Ganesh and an Englishman living on the island: "You go get on all right with him, seeing that both of you is educated people" (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 28). In the translation, the personal pronoun is replaced with the word *sahib*: "**Sahib** tulee varmaan hyvin toimeen sen kanssa, te kun kumpanenkin olette oppineita ihmisiä" (*Masseur FI* 1978, 41) [Sahib will probably get on well with it [him], as you are both educated people]. Using a title and the third-person as a form of polite address was a common practice in Finnish in the 19th and early 20th century (Kolehmainen 2011). Although *sahib* has not been placed in italics in either of the texts (a strategy similar to that seen in Tamminen's translations), it can nevertheless be considered code-switching at least in the Finnish translation. Due to Loponen's strategy of using this archaic form of address, the translation in fact uses the word *sahib* more frequently than the source text.

In *House*, Naipaul uses appellatives to indicate changes in the language skills of Mr Biswas's children. They are born into a Hindi-speaking family, and their first language is Hindi. After Mr Biswas and his wife move out of the home of his wife's family, the primary language spoken at their home changes into English. The children also attend an English-speaking school and gradually begin to lose their Hindi. This is shown in the words they use to refer to their father. Early on, the children use the word *Pa*, and later they switch to *Daddy*. The pressure for this change is partly coming from the other children attending the same school, as the American-style *Daddy* is considered more modern and upper-class than the *Pa* of the Hindu tradition: "their Daddies worked in offices, and at week-ends Daddy and Mummy took them in cars to the seaside, with laden hampers" (*House* [1961] 2000, 440). In his translation, Loponen has used Finnish equivalents for some occurrences, but mostly he has left appellatives in their source text form (only removing capitalisation, like the other translators have done) in order to preserve the original distinction between them.

Antoni's novels differ from the other texts discussed here in that he does not use interlingual code-switching in appellatives very frequently. In *Folktales*, a few instances of appellatives of this first type appear, for example when the narrator refers to God: "Papa God gave me money, and he took it away just as quick" (*Folktales* 2000, 34). Appellatives do form a part of some Trinidadian Creole exclamations used frequently in both texts – such as *Papa-yo!*²² – but as the inclusion of an appellative in this phrase is rather coincidental, these exclamations will be

²² "An exclamation of joy or surprise; often emphasized on the last syllable. /p a p a jo/ (poss. < papa 5 + FC yo 'them; plural') = mama, mamayo, mamai 3, oui papa, papa 5, pappy(o)" (*DotECOTT* s.v. 'papayo')

discussed further in subsection 4.2.2. Mostly these few instances of appellatives have been domesticated in the Finnish translation.

A particularly vivid example of interlingual code-switching in *Folktales* can be found in the second category, that is to say names that carry some kind of meaning in a given language. This is the name or names given for the character of the washerwoman, Blanchisseuse. In the story, it is told that Blanchisseuse is only the name given to her by the local townspeople, whereas her real name is a secret only a few knew. This secret is revealed during the telling of the tale, and it is given in the form of a song for which Antoni also provides a translation in English:

Yan-killi-ma
Kutti-gu-ma
Yan-killi-ma
Nag-wa-kitti
 [...]
 You will kill me
My love
You will kill me
My beautiful one (Folktales 2000, 45)

The narrator identifies the language of the washerwoman's song as "the old Yoruba tongue" (ibid.), referring to the African origins of this narrative. In this instance, Sumari has maintained both the name Blanchisseuse and this longer name, while translating the English translation of the song into Finnish.

Switches in this second category are much less common than the first type discussed above. There are, however, a few occurrences that merit mention, as they also bear some cultural relevance, much like the story of the washerwoman above. In *Breath*, Danticat uses some traditional Haitian names in a passage where Sophie is observing some children playing in rural Haiti and remarks on their names:

The children across the street were piling up the leaves in Madame Augustin's yard. The bigger ones waited on line as the smaller ones dropped onto the pile, bouncing to their feet, shrieking and laughing. They called one another's names: **Foi**, Hope, Faith, **Espérance**, Beloved, God-Given, My Joy, First Born, Last Born, **Aséfi**, Enough-Girls, Enough-Boys, Deliverance, Small Misery, Big Misery, No Misery. Names as bright and colourful as the giant poincianas in Madame Augustin's garden. (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 6)

In this list of names, we can see two languages in addition to the matrix language of English; *Foi* and *Espérance* are French for faith and hope, respectively, and *Aséfi* is

Haitian Creole for enough girls. All three items of interlingual code-switching are thus also provided in English within the list of names. The rest, although written in English, can be considered direct translations of traditional Haitian Creole names. From this perspective, then, it would seem that the narrator in this passage is not in fact listing the names of the children taking part in the game but providing the reader with a translation of the meaning of these names. In the translation, Tamminen has left the French and Haitian Creole names as they are and translated the ones in English. Both the author and the translator have thus employed a strategy that is a mixture of explicatory foreignisation and non-illusionistic domestication.

Naming practices of African origin that survive in the Caribbean can be seen in the novels. One of these practices is using the names of months or days of the week. This can be found for example in Levy's *Song*, where the protagonist is named July. Another such practice is using names that indicate the child's birth order. This was already seen in the above passage from *Breath*, where two of the children were named First Born and Last Born. Similar names are also used in García's *Sisters*, which contains for example a character called Secundino, or 'second-born'. Apart from the passage from *Breath*, no particular attention is generally drawn to the meanings of these names in their respective languages. In the rest of these cases, the translators have used the names of the characters as such, and no reference to their possible meaning is made. In the translations, then, the names become just that, proper names, without a link to additional meanings.

Names with meaning are also found in *Carnival* in a rather different type of use, namely the characters created for the carnival group, the masplayers. The protagonist William is part of the carnival group, or mascamp, of Peter Minshall, and he describes some of the costumes and the meanings of their names. Here, he is describing the costume worn by Eddoes: "The costume was called Tic-tac-toe Down the River. The first part, tic-tac-toe, having a special meaning for us: it's what we call that boy's game of skipping a flat stone, in three hops, across the water" (*Carnival* 2005, 110). In the translation, Aaltonen has translated the name with a name used for the same game in Finland: "Voileipiä jokeen" (*Carnival FI* 2005, 145) [Sandwiches in the river]. In this case, the name is not a proper name as such but a made-up descriptive name for a piece of art. The meaning of the name thus becomes more significant than in the case of the above-mentioned proper names.

In the translation of Rhys's *Sargasso*, Siikarla has used two footnotes, which are both explanations to names that have meaning in English. The first footnote provides a translation for the place name Massacre, which Siikarla has left in English in the translation (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 67). Antoinette's husband asks his wife about the history behind the name, and thus understanding the meaning of the word becomes significant for understanding the text. The second footnote has been added to explain the meaning of a person's name, "Disastrous Thomas", which – like the name

Massacre – would be clear for the English-speaking reader of the source text. As the name is in English in both the source text and the translation, no code-switching appears in the original and no explanation is thus needed. In the translation, then, Siikarla has chosen to include an explication of the name in a footnote (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 139) rather than, for example, translating the name into Finnish.

The third category, terms of endearment, is again somewhat more frequently used, although their occurrence is significantly more frequent in some texts than others. The most frequent users of interlingual code-switching in terms of endearment are Rhys and García. In Rhys's *Sargasso*, terms of endearment are the most commonly used type of appellative with interlingual code-switching. Most of these are found in dialogue between Antoinette and Christophine. In her dialogue, Christophine often switches to Antillean Creole when addressing Antoinette: “*“Doudou, ché cocotte,”* the elderly woman said to Antoinette”²³ (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 61). Rhys has used italics for her interlingual code-switching, and Siikarla, in the translation, has maintained most of these switches. Some additional italicisation can, however, be found in the translation. For example, when Antoinette introduces Christophine to her husband, she refers to her as “my **da**, my nurse long ago” (*ibid.*). Here, Siikarla has added both italics and inflection to the switch: “tässä on Christophine, joka oli minun **dani**, hoitajani, kauan sitten” (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 75). In García's *Sisters*, various terms of endearment are used between different characters. For example, Constancia and her husband Heberto call one another *mi cielo* [my heaven] and *mi vida* [my life] (*Sisters* 1997, 74), whereas Reina calls her daughter Dulcita *mi amor* [my love] (*Sisters* 1997, 36), and Reina's lover calls Reina *querida* [darling] (*Sisters* 1997, 37). Just as most of the other types of interlingual code-switching in Tamminen's translations, these, too, have been maintained in the translation.

In Antoni's *Carnival*, the use of code-switching in appellatives is even more infrequent than in *Folktales*, but some occurrences of terms of endearment can be found. For example, in the following passage, an elderly Trinidadian woman frets over the sight of William's blackened eye: ““Ayeee!” she bawled. “Look me **doux-doux**! How them could mash-up he pretty face so?”” (*Carnival* 2005, 185). This has been domesticated in the translation: ““Aijaijai!” Mums parkui. ”Voi **mun pientä**! Miksi ne on menneet ruhjomaan tuon nätin naamavärkin?”” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 240) [“Ayeee!” Mums cried. “Oh my little one! Why have they gone and bruised that pretty face?].

²³ Both *doudou* (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘dou-dou’) and *cocotte* (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘cocotte’) are terms of endearment used in several Caribbean (especially French-lexifier) creoles.

4.2.2 Exclamations and expletives

Exclamations and expletives are another category in which interlingual code-switching can be found in all of the novels under discussion, in one form or another. The two are here grouped into one category mainly due to the similarity of the situations in which they are used in the texts. The term expletive is here used to refer to the expression of profanities and taboo topics rather than the more extensive grammatical category of the same name. Callahan (2004, 70) has separated these into two different categories – expletives as their own group and exclamations grouped together with set phrases and tags. Both exclamations and expletives have been shown to be common in other studies of code-switching – written and spoken – as well. In Callahan’s (2004, 75) study, expletives accounted for 10% of all switches, and the category including set phrases, tags, and exclamations accounted for 27% of switches. In her article on the different ways in which people communicate about “the unmentionable”, Judith Irvine (2011, 18) lists code-switching as one of the possible “containment strategies” for taboo topics.

Perhaps one of the reasons why this is such a popular category for interlingual code-switching is that exclamations and expletives tend not to be context-dependent in the sense that the reader will be able to follow the text even if they do not understand the meaning of the code-switching. Exclamations in particular can also be said to be structurally independent in the sense that they do not affect the structure of the text around them to a high degree. This is probably one of the main reasons why this is also one of the categories where the code-switches are the most likely to be maintained in translation. As the use of expletives is closely related to taboo topics, these will also be briefly discussed in this section.

Lars-Gunnar Andersson and Peter Trudgill (1990, 62–63), in their analysis of swearing and taboo language, give five categories for swearwords based on their intrusiveness; swearwords can appear (1) “as separate utterances (expletives and abusives)”, (2) “as ‘adsentences’ (loosely tied to a sentence, before or after)”, (3) “as major constituents of a sentence (subject, verb, adverb, etc.)”, (4) “as part of a constituent of a sentence (adjective, adverb)”, or (5) “as part of a word (compound or derivational, as prefix, suffix or infix)”. Andersson and Trudgill have limited the use of the term expletive to the first of these categories; in my analysis, however, some passages that would be grouped under the second category are also discussed as expletives. The other three categories are here seen as belonging to the related field of taboo topics, mainly because of the difference in how they affect the surrounding syntax (being more intrusive than separate utterances or adsentences) and thus their difference from the category of exclamations, with which expletives have been paired in my analysis. Expletives can of course also appear as

exclamations, but as all exclamations need not be classified as expletives, they will be considered separate categories.

In the previous sections, the significance of italicisation in the use of interlingual code-switching has been discussed. Many of the authors and translators have used italics to indicate when interlingual code-switching is used in the text. Interestingly, when interlingual code-switching is used in exclamations, punctuation becomes similarly significant. This can be seen for example in Danticat's *Bones* and García's *Sisters*, where, in switches to Spanish, punctuation occurring around the switch is also used according to Spanish grammar. In *Bones*, this was seen in the previously mentioned passage, where Amabelle's employer is screaming in labour pains: ““**¡Ay, no!**” the señora shouted through her clenched grinding teeth” (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 5). In *Sisters*, we can see Spanish punctuation in a passage where Constanca, as a child, witnesses her nanny cursing a photo of an ex-boyfriend ““**¡Fuera, diablo!**” she shouted, before setting the picture aflame” (*Sisters* 1997, 45) [“Away, devil!”].

From the ten novels under discussion, García's *Sisters* contains perhaps the largest number of expletives and other taboo words, and the majority of these are switches to Spanish. The primary distinction between the two types of switch is that no cushioning is provided for expletives, whereas for other types of taboo words, some cushioning may be added on occasion, if the author has deemed the switch sufficiently significant for the understanding of the text. For example, in the following passage a whole litany of swear words is added as an interjection in the middle of the narration without any further explanation: “The old man scared the hell out of me, and it must have shown, because he pulled back, apologized profusely, and – **¡Coño! ¡Cojones! ¡Hijo de la gran puta que es tu madre!** – he began to cry” (*Sisters* 1997, 55) [Cunt! Balls! Son of the great whore that is your mother!]. In contrast, cushioning is provided for a taboo phrase in Spanish when its meaning becomes significant for comprehension: “That's how it breaks down here – those with dollars and those without. Dollars mean privileges. A roll of toilet paper. A bottle of rum. Pesos mean **te jodes. You're fucked.** It's that simple” (*Sisters* 1997, 51).

In Danticat's works, interlingual code-switching in exclamations appears more in *Bones* than in *Breath*. Most switches in exclamations in *Bones* are into Spanish, but some exceptions also occur. In the following passage, two Spanish-speaking characters are greeting each other, and one of them is showing off her skills in Latin. The passage thus contains a greeting in three different languages:

“Good evening, Señorita Beatriz.”

“**Salve!**” replied Beatriz in Latin.

“**¡Hola!** to you too, Señorita Beatriz,” Juana said, dusting off the back of her dress. (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 40)

In these two switches to different languages, the difference in punctuation is clearly visible. In *Breath*, the only repeated example of a kind of exclamation or expletive is the phrase “*Jesus Marie Joseph*” (e.g. *Breath* [1994] 1998, 191) used by Sophie’s mother. Although not strictly speaking an expletive, it is similar in function. In *Breath*, Danticat’s tendency for domesticating strategies can also be seen in an exclamation – uttered to Sophie by a Haitian bus driver – with a clear connection to Haitian culture but which has been given in English: ““**Great gods in Guinea**, you are beautiful,” the driver said as he stopped under a breadfruit tree” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 93). The significance of this reference to Guinea in Haitian oral tradition was already discussed in subsection 2.1.2.

Most interlingual code-switching in exclamations and expletives has been maintained by Tamminen in both Danticat’s and García’s texts without any additional cushioning added. Interestingly, in the above example from *Sisters*, where García provides a more or less direct translation into English of the meaning of the switch in Spanish, the Finnish translation is much less direct: “Pesot tarkoittavat **te jodes. Et ole paskankaan arvoinen**” (*Sisters FI* 1999, 60) [Pesos mean *te jodes*. You’re not worth shit]. Partly this slightly different approach towards translating the switch is explained by the fact that a strictly similar idiomatic expression does not exist in Finnish, although expressions of a similar nature can naturally be found. Here, Tamminen’s translation draws from the context of monetary value, thus linking the cushioning more tightly to the surrounding context rather than the actual word-for-word meaning of the Spanish switch. The profane nature of the translation is still maintained with the use of the Finnish word *paska* (shit).

In Novas’s *Mangos*, interlingual code-switching is not used for exclamations or expletives, but the occasional taboo word can be found in the text. The taboo words are given in Spanish, and most of them are also provided with a translation into English directly after the switch. This can be seen in a passage where Arnaldo, suspecting Esmeralda is visiting a man, decides to follow her, and sees her entering Juan’s building:

And while he waited, he began reciting the Beautitudes the way he had done when he was called to perform his early miracles back home, before he’d lost a whole life and a whole country and the sweet innocence that anointed him and made him into an *hombre de Dios*, as handsome and as strong as the one who called himself Juan Ona and who had turned his Esmeralda into a **puta whore**. (*Mangos* 1996, 137)

In Selander’s translation, the code-switching is maintained, with similar cushioning in Finnish. What makes the use of these foreign taboo words significant, especially the way in which they are used in the two Cuban novels, is that they do not seem to

operate quite in the way code-switching is usually reported to function in connection to taboo topics. The use of code-switching in relation to expletives and other taboo topics has been widely studied in the field of sociolinguistics. For a multilingual person, different languages hold varying levels of emotional significance, depending, for example, on when they learned each language. Consequently, code-switching can be used to discuss topics that might be uncomfortable to express in a specific language. Jean-Marc Dewaele (2004, 207) writes that, when discussing taboo topics, “bilinguals may codeswitch to their second language to distance themselves from what they say”. Research into historical texts has also revealed the use of code-switching for similar purposes; for example, in Cicero’s letters, sensitive topics such as bodily functions are described in Greek rather than Latin (Adams 2003, 331–332).

In the works discussed in this dissertation, however, the situation seems to be somewhat complicated by some issues of language choice. As the matrix language of many of these novels is in fact different from the native language of the author as well as the implied language spoken by many of the characters in the novels, in terms of the familiarity of the languages to the characters, the situation is reversed. For example, in the novels by García and Novas, the native language of the primary characters is Spanish. However, as the matrix language of these novels is English, and the interlingual code-switching in expletives and other taboo items takes place in Spanish, the author is in fact switching from a second language into the native language of these characters. From the point of view of the reader, the switch does take place from the first language to the second – if indeed competence in Spanish is even assumed – if we are to posit that the target audience of these texts is English-speaking. Therefore, if we wish to argue that the function of code-switching in these instances is distancing oneself from uncomfortable topics, then we must also argue that the authors in this case are doing so from the point of view of the reader rather than the character.

We must, however, also take into account the manner in which these expletives are used in the novels. The two Cuban novelists have chosen somewhat differing strategies when it comes to interlingual code-switching in relation to taboo topics; that is to say, Novas has used significantly more cushioning for her switches than García has. For example, García uses Spanish code-switching with only some rather vague covert cushioning when discussing topics such as prostitution:

Take a stroll with me down the Malecón, and you’ll see what I’m talking about. It’s a fucking safari. And anybody with a pair of brand-name sneakers or sunglasses is the big game. See those *jineteros* over there? I know them. Very ambitious. They make a living from the hustling. (*Sisters* 1997, 49)

Here, the switch to Spanish does therefore act as a distancing device. However, in the previous passage from *Mangos*, the taboo word is in fact repeated in English after the Spanish code-switching. If, then, the taboo word is indeed also given in English, is distancing really the most logical assumption for the function for this type of a switch? We find more proof for this argument in *Sisters*, where very little cushioning is provided for code-switching of expletives or other taboo words.

Callahan approaches the use of expletives in her corpus of written English to Spanish code-switching from the point of view of recognisability. She argues that expletives “are a notorious marker of emblematic codeswitching, and are available to speakers who have little other competence in the [embedded language]” (Callahan 2004, 71). This would support the argument that the use of expletives in code-switching is indeed meant to be understood from the perspective of the reader rather than the character. However, this theory is also somewhat problematic in terms of some of the instances of expletives found in my materials. As was mentioned previously, Novas tends not to cushion her code-switching as much as some of the other authors, instead opting to use such Spanish words that are easily recognisable by English-speaking readers, which would mean no cushioning is necessarily needed for these words. Therefore, the cushioning used for these expletives is, from the point of view of Novas’s overall strategy of cultural translation, more of an exception than a rule. If Novas had considered these instances of code-switching easily recognisable for her audience, why would she have provided cushioning for them, especially when she has not provided cushioning for many other similar instances of code-switching that involve recognisable Spanish words other than expletives? I would argue that, in this case, another explanation would be more plausible.

Callahan (ibid.) also points out that expletives “are of additional interest for their association with informal registers”. Expletives and taboo words do appear more frequently in the novels where more colloquial registers of language are used. On the other hand, Dewaele (2004, 209) also argues that the “emotional resonance” of taboo words in the speaker’s first language is higher than in other languages; thus, it could also be argued that the use of code-switching into the character’s main language for taboo words in these texts has the effect of causing a more substantial emotional response for the character using these words.

In Antoni’s *Folktales*, taboo topics are at the very heart of the text. As the premise of *Folktales* is that the grandmother is telling naughty stories to her grandson and his friends, the text is littered with taboo words. They appear both in English as well as in other languages, mostly in Trinidadian Creole or Spanish. In the following passage, we can see several taboo words in Spanish:

That is one word to grate up against she ears in truth, that every time I am giving a joke or telling a story and I forget myself and let it escape, you poor mummy

gets that look on she face red red like she's trying to **make a caca with a corcho inside she culo!** (*Folktales* 2000, 120)

The words *caca* [poop] and *culo* [ass] are quite clearly taboo words while *corcho* [cork] only becomes one through the context in which it is used here. In the translation, Sumari changes quite freely between languages, leaving some expletives in Spanish while translating others:

Se sana tosiaan vihloo sen korvia, nimittäin aina kun mä kerron tarinaa tai vitsiä ja unohdan itseni ja sanon sen sanan, niin sun äiskäparan naama tulee niin punaseksi niin punaseksi kuin se yrittäisi **työntää caca korkki perseessä!** (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 134)

[That word really stings her ears, you see every time I'm telling a story or a joke and forget myself and say the word, your poor mother's face turns so red so red as if she was trying to **push caca with a cork in her ass!**]

Out of the three Spanish words used in the source text, the word *caca* is clearly the easiest for a Finnish person to guess the meaning of without knowing the language, because Finnish has a very similar sounding word with the same meaning (*kakka*). Sumari's chosen strategy thus has the effect of minimising the strain of the code-switching on the reading experience. As Antoni does use plenty of English expletives as well, the use of Finnish expletives instead of code-switched ones does not markedly increase the crassness of the translation when compared to the source text.

Antoni also frequently uses various exclamations in Trinidadian Creole, such as "*Papa-yo!*" (e.g. *Folktales* 2000, 139) and "*Ayeeyosmío!*" (e.g. *Folktales* 2000, 78). In the Finnish translation, Sumari has used a homophonic translation for these exclamations: "*Voe pappa-joo!*" (e.g. *Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 153) and "*Aijjaisussentään!*" (e.g. *Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 88), respectively. This means that the translation focuses on the phonetic portrayal of the word rather than its semantic meaning (for a more detailed description of homophonic translation, see e.g. Genette 1997, 40–41). The exclamation "*Papa-yo!*" (*Carnival* 2005, 85) also appears in *Carnival*, and Aaltonen has chosen a similar homophonic translation strategy: "*Papajaa!*" (*Carnival FI* 2005, 116) [Papaya!]. The translation therefore maintains the sound of the word but changes its meaning. Alternatively, the translator may have mixed up the perhaps unfamiliar Trinidadian Creole word with the Spanish word for papaya, *papayo*, which is also the most common search result in Google, for example.

In both of the Antoni novels, various parts of the human anatomy are rendered in Trinidadian Creole. The two translators have chosen quite similar techniques for

translating these switches, namely that they have chosen corresponding Finnish words that, when possible, also have a similar sound to them. In the following passage from *Carnival* some passers-by are commenting on Eddoes wearing the bodysuit from his mas outfit: “Oui papa-yo! But the man naked! **Toe-tee** and all ringing in the breeze!” (*Carnival* 2005, 139). In the translation, the word *toe-tee*²⁴ has been rendered with a Finnish euphemism with a similar repetition to it: “Hui papaijaa! Toi kaverihan on ihan naku. **Pili-vili** ja muut vaan tuulessa vinkuu!” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 183). In *Folktales*, one of the most frequently used words of this kind is for a woman’s breasts²⁵: “Young and beautiful just like you mummy there, with beautiful hair and skin and beautiful **tot-tots** that didn’t used to fall down” (*Folktales* 2000, 3–4). Sumari has also chosen a domesticating strategy here, using a euphemistic Finnish word that one would perhaps use when talking to a child: “Nuori ja kaunis ihan niin kuin sun äiskä, kaunis tukka ja iho ja kauniit **tisulit** jotka ei suinkaan hiponeet maata” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 8). What is significant about Sumari’s translation strategies is that, although she has domesticated most taboo words appearing in Creole, she has maintained Spanish code-switching, as can be seen in the previously mentioned passage using a Spanish euphemism for a man’s testicles:

Still crawling around like a newborn babe on he hands and knees – but with the same sad, oldman’s sigh dragging down he face – still searching in the weeds beneath he oleander bush, two hairy **huevos**, and a cornstarch-plaster stuck up between he legs. (*Folktales* 2000, 42)

Siellä se vieläkin ryömii nelinkontin kuin sylivauva – naama venyneenä samaan surulliseen vanhan miehen irveeseen – siellä se vieläkin etsii ja tonkii ruohoa oleanteripensaan alla, kaksi karvaista **huevos** heiluen, ja sen reisien väliin on tungettu maissitärkkelyslaastari. (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 49)

The strategy here is therefore much more foreignising, the only form of cushioning added being italicisation, as Sumari has also chosen not to inflect the code-switching.

The rest of the novels use a much more limited repertoire of exclamations, expletives, or taboo words. In *Masseur*, for example the expletive *tonnerre*²⁶ is used on a couple of occasions with varying spellings: “**Tonnerre!** But it hot today. You think you could give me just a little sip of water?” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 99). In the

²⁴ “Penis; man’s sexual organ” (*DotECoTT* s.v. ‘totee, totey, totie’)

²⁵ “Breast; breasts; bosom” (*DotECoTT*, s.v. ‘tot-tots, tottots, tut-tuts’)

²⁶ “Exclamation of surprise, vexation, annoyance” (*DotECoTT*, s.v. ‘tonnere, tonnay, tonnier’)

Finnish translation, Loponen has maintained the code-switching but unified the different spellings of the word, only using the spelling corresponding with its French origin: “**Tonnerre!** Että osaakin olla kuuma päivä. Miten on, voiskos saada pikkuriikkisen kulauksen vettä?” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 118). However, Loponen, much like Sumari, uses different strategies for exclamations in different languages, such as is the case with the following Hindi exclamation of surprise (similar to the English ‘oh my god!’) in a passage where Shama’s family are waiting for Shama’s brother’s arrival from England: “A young white woman joined Owad behind the rails. They laughed and talked. ‘**Are bap!**’ one of Mrs. Tulsi’s woman friends cried out through her tears” (*House* [1961] 2000, 536). This exclamation has been domesticated: “Joku nuori valkoinen nainen lyöttäytyi Owadin seuraan reelingin takana. He naureskelivat ja juttelivat. ”**Ne on pari!**” yksi mrs Tulsin ystävättäristä älähti kyyneltensä lomasta” (*House FI* 1984, 579) [Some young white woman joined Owad behind the railing. They laughed and talked. “**They are a couple!**” one of mrs Tulsi’s friends cried out through her tears]. Interestingly, even though Loponen has domesticated the exclamation – to which Naipaul has provided no particular cushioning in the source text – the meaning of it seems to be more of a guess based on the surrounding context rather than actual knowledge of the meaning of the Hindi words. With the domesticated exclamation, Loponen thus provides contextualisation that does not exist in the source text.

Similar changes to code-switching to that seen in the above passage from *Masseur* can also be found in Siikarla’s translation of *Sargasso*. In the following passage, Baptiste, one of the servants at Granbois, uses an exclamation in Antillean Creole: ““**Que komesse!**” Baptiste said. ‘I get Christophine.’” (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 120). In the translation, Siikarla has maintained the switch but altered its spelling: “– **Que comesse!** Baptiste sanoi. – Minä haen Christophinen” (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 155). This, much like the previous example from Loponen’s translation, is presumably an attempt to get closer to French spelling.

4.2.3 Flora and fauna

Descriptions of natural surroundings are one of the central themes found in many Caribbean literatures, and the ten novels discussed here are no exception. Both literal and metaphorical descriptions of various local flora and fauna are found in all texts to varying extents. In recent years, there has been what has been termed an ecocritical turn in Postcolonial Studies, focusing on the various aspects in which people and the environment interact in the postcolonial context (see e.g. McLeod 2016). Nature as

a metaphor in Caribbean literatures in particular is a topic that has received much attention from scholars. For example, a book edited by Elizabeth DeLoughrey, Renée Gosson and George Handley (2005) explores the various points of contact between nature and culture in Caribbean literatures. In a recent article, Valovirta (2017) has focused on depictions of sugarcane and mango as a metaphor for Caribbean sexuality.

Descriptions of nature also tend to contain an ample amount of interlingual code-switching, as many of the local flora and fauna described are referred to with local names. In the two Naipaul novels, *Masseur* and *House*, most interlingual code-switching into Trinidadian Creole has to do with local flora. In *House*, the narrator describes the nature in which the narrative is set as an integral part of the text's style:

The land itself was a wonder. The saman trees had lianas so strong and supple that one could swing on them. All day the immortelle trees dropped their red and yellow bird-shaped flowers through which one could whistle like a bird. Cocoa trees grew in the shade of the immortelles, coffee in the shade of the cocoa, and the hills were covered with tonka bean. Fruit trees, mango, orange, avocado pear, were so plentiful as to seem wild. And there were nutmeg trees, as well as cedar, *poui*, and the *bois-canot* which was light yet so springy and strong it made you a better cricket bat than the willow. (*House* [1961] 2000, 391–392)

In the translation, Lojonen has consistently followed the strategy of only italicising those words that have been italicised in the source text, even though undoubtedly many of the plants mentioned in this passage were in the 1980s much stranger to the Finnish reader than they might be for the reader of the source text. Lojonen has also followed Naipaul's strategy in the sense that those plant names that have not been placed in italics are mostly domesticated, whereas any italicised code-switching, here *poui*²⁷ and *bois-canot*,²⁸ is maintained in the translation, with some added inflections: "Ja siellä oli muskottipuita sekä setriä, *pouia* ja *bois-canotia*, joka oli kevyttä mutta silti niin sitkeää ja vahvaa, että siitä sai paremman krikettimailan kuin pajusta" (*House FI* 1984, 424). A somewhat mixed strategy is used in the translation of *Masseur*, as domestication is used for some plant names that have been italicised

²⁷ "A large, decorative, shade tree wh annually sheds its leaves and comes out massively in flower, a pink variety and a yellow variety; its very hard wood is also favoured by STICK-FIGHTERS; the pink, *Tabebuia pentaphylla*, the yellow *Tecoma serratifolia* (*Bignoniaceae*)" (*DoCEU* s.v. 'poui')

²⁸ "A slender upright tree growing rapidly to some 50 or 60 ft 'producing one or more hollow greyish coloured trunks (*PTT*: 110) and large, deeply-lobed leaves with a whitish undersurface wh are used as a flok-medicine; *Cecropia peltata*" (*DoCEU* s.v. 'trumpet-bush')

in the source texts while others have been left as they are. Domestication is used for example in the case of the “carat palm” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 110-11), which is translated as “karaattipalmu” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 131), whereas a foreignising strategy has been used for “neem tree” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 63), for example. Interestingly, the Finnish uses a loanword for this particular plant, and thus in Finnish it would be called *neempuu*. However, Lopenen has used italics to indicate this as a switch in the translation: “*neempuu*” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 79). It is, however, possible that such a loanword was not yet in use in Finnish in the 1970s, when the translation was published.

García’s *Sisters* also contains numerous references to Cuban flora and fauna, especially different types of birds. Ignacio, the father of the sisters, is an avid ornithologist, and the chapters narrated by him have various references to different types of birds he has encountered during his life and their significance to different events taking place in his life. In addition to their English, or sometimes Latin, names, many of these birds are referred to in Spanish. For example, in the following passage, Ignacio tells the story of how he rescued and hatched some tree duck (*yaguasa*) eggs as a boy, and explains the significance of tree ducks for a Cuban family:

*During one of our expeditions, I discovered the nest of a **tree duck** in a hollow stump north of town. Inside were four eggs and, fortunately, no mother **yaguasa** in sight. Secundino offered me twenty cents apiece for the eggs, a fantastic sum at the time, but I refused him and decided to raise the fledglings myself. [...] Common folk and breeders alike used to raise the **yaguasas** among their own domestic poultry, because they broke up barnyard quarrels and whistled at the approach of strangers. **Tree ducks**, I daresay, were an avian blend of bouncer and rural guard. (*Sisters* 1997, 59–60)*

The passages in the novel that are narrated by Ignacio are recollections from his youth and are all written in italics, except for the interlingual code-switching which is then left without italics to separate it from the matrix language. The same is done by the translator, with the exception that only the stems of words are separated:

*Erään pyyntiretkemme aikana löysin **viheltäjäsorsan** pesän ontosta kannosta kaupungin pohjoispuolelta. Pesässä oli neljä munaa eikä valitettavasti **yaguasa-äitiä** näköpiirissä. Secundino tarjosi minulle kaksikymmentä senttiä kustakin munasta, mikä oli siihen aikaan käsittämätön summa, mutta minä kieltäydyin ja päätin kasvattaa linnunpojat itse. [...] Tavalliset ihmiset sekä lintujen kasvattajat kasvattivat mielellään **yaguasat** oman siipikarjansa seassa, sillä ne ratkoivat tallipihan riitoja ja vihelsivät muukalaisten lähestyessä. Voisi kai*

väittää että **viheltäjäsorsat** olivat siivekäs sekoitus ulsoheittäjää ja tilavahtia.
(*Sisters FI* 1999, 68)

The English name ‘tree duck’ has been translated as *viheltäjäsorsa* (whistling duck), which is the name more commonly used for the bird. In the first occurrence of the Spanish name, Tamminen has integrated the word *äiti* (mother) into the switch with a hyphen.

In Novas’s *Mangos*, much as the title already suggests, different types of local flora are frequently used as references to Cuban nature and culture. On many occasions, the names of various local plants are written in Spanish and have mostly been italicised. Types of fruit are used, for example, as a metaphor for the female body: “He looked at Ermenegilda’s eyes, and instead of colors or eyelids or pupils he saw monarch butterflies rising from her skull to hover about her head like a shimmering halo. Her mouth was the fresh flesh of the **mamey fruit**; her skin was a cluster of cut diamonds” (*Mangos* 1996, 18). Much like Tamminen in her translation, Selander has also integrated the modifier ‘fruit’ with the code-switching, creating a compound word: “Hänen suunsa oli kuin tuoretta **mamey-hedelmän** lihaa, hänen ihonsa kuin leikattuja timantteja” (*Mangos FI* 1998, 17). Compound words are extremely common in Finnish, and very complex combinations can often be created with them. For translating interlingual code-switching, compound words are additionally useful for the Finnish translator in that using them often helps circumvent difficult inflections.

As a rule, Selander has left the Spanish names of these plants in the translation, even when a Finnish equivalent is available. On some occasions, she has added italics to words that have not been italicised in the source text. This happens for example with the word *yuca* in this passage where an orphan boy rescues Arnaldo after he was wounded during the battles of the Cuban Revolution in 1959: “The boy fed him caterpillars and **yuca roots** and hid him in a hut made of **ceiba branches** and **guano leaves** and nursed him until he was finally able to speak and remember his name” (*Mangos* 1996, 30). Out of the three plant names used in this passage, the word *yuca* is the only one left unitalicised in the source text. Selander has added italics to this third plant name as well: “Poika ruokki häntä toukilla ja **yucan juurilla**, piilotti hänet **ceiban oksista** ja **guanon lehdistä** kyhättyyn majaan ja hoivasi häntä kunnes hän pystyi taas puhumaan ja muisti kuka oli” (*Mangos FI* 1998, 30). The italics here serve as an indicator to the Finnish reader that the word is perhaps more foreign than they expect. In English-speaking countries, the most commonly used name for this plant is cassava rather than *yuca*, and the most commonly used word for *yuca* in Finnish is *maniokki*. Both of these names sound very different from the Spanish word, whereas a completely unrelated plant, the *yucca* tree, is a popular houseplant in Finnish homes.

In *Sargasso*, many names of plants and animals can be found in dialogue between Antoinette and her husband, as she explains to the Englishman the different names of Caribbean plants and animals:

There was a very strong scent of flowers – the flowers by the river that open at night she told me – and the noise, subdued in the inner room, was deafening. ‘**Crac-cracs,**’ she explained, ‘**they make a sound like their name,** and crickets and frogs.’ (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 68)

In this instance Rhys has not placed the word *crac-cracs* in italics, which is perhaps an indication that she has considered it a proper name rather than interlingual code-switching, or alternatively an onomatopoetic expression – the name is described to be an onomatopoetic one in the passage. In the translation, however, Siikarla certainly has considered this code-switching, as she has maintained the word with added italics and inflection:

Ilmassa tuntui hyvin voimakas kukkien tuoksu – joenvarren kukkien jotka avautuivat öisin, niin Antoinette kertoi minulle – ja meteli, joka oli kuulunut vaimeana sisällä, oli huumaava. – Nuo ovat ***crac-craceja***, hän selitti. – **Ne pitävät nimensä mukaista ääntä.** Ja nuo sirkkoja ja sammakoita. (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 84)

Siikarla has also maintained the reference to the onomatopoetic nature of the name, even though she has not domesticated it. An onomatopoetic expression for a cracking sound would be produced somewhat differently in Finnish (e.g. *riks-raks*), but Rhys’s rendition is certainly sufficiently recognisable for a Finnish reader to understand its onomatopoetic nature, too.

In *Folktales*, Antoni uses some colloquial names for plants. These are not interlingual code-switching as such, as the language does not change, but they can be considered a regionally specific, colloquial form of language use. Two of them can be seen in the following passage:

They could only remain there crouching behind a **stinging-suzie tree**, or peering out from between the branches of a **simple-simon** bush, the pacing of they breaths and the poundings in they chest, the scrubblings up and down of they thin wrists synchronized by the rise and fall of a soapy white camisole against the rocks! (*Folktales* 2000, 43–44)

Sumari has chosen to create neologisms for these plant names, which would be unknown for a Finnish audience, especially in this colloquial usage:

Niiden oli vain jäättävä paikalleen, kyykkimään **haisulipensaissa** tai tiirailemaan **pöllöpääpuiden** oksien läpi, ja ne tahditti hengityksensä ja sydämensä tykytyksen ja ohuiden tikkuranteidensa vatkavan liikkeen sen mukaan, miten saippuoitu valkoinen kamisoli läjähteli kiviä vasten! (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 51)

The two neologisms, *haisulipensas* and *pöllöpääpuu*, would translate into English roughly as ‘stinky bush’ and ‘dimwit tree’. Such neologisms could perhaps be categorized as non-illusionistic domestication, as an element of strangeness is maintained in the translation by using words that are understandable for Finns but do not exist as a reference to a specific object. During the interview conducted with Sumari, she mentions this particular passage as an example of “Caribbean exoticism” used by Antoni, which she very much enjoyed translating.

Folktales also makes reference to various kinds of animals, which is common for traditional Caribbean storytelling. Many of these animals are referred to both in English and in Trinidadian Creole. For example, in the following story, Grandmother Domingo talks about the peculiar tastes of a Frenchman, who only wanted to eat frog-legs:

The worst thing was that now, in addition to all she many *other* labours in the palace, now Iwana must spend several hours a day at that stinking Maraval Swamp, wading through the mud high as she waist, chasing behind all this multitude of jumping **crapos**. Then she must take out the **froglegs** and sautee them soft in the butter every evening, that every evening they could be ready in time for the dinner of this Dr Jewels. (*Folktales* 2000, 132)

Sumari has again chosen a domesticating strategy, using the Finnish equivalent for both the English and the Creole:

Pahinta oli se, että nyt Iwanan piti kaikkien *muiden* töidensä lisäksi vielä rämpiä joka päivä monta tuntia haisevalla Maraval-suolla vyötäröä myöten mudassa ja jahdata hyppiviä **sammakoita**, joita tarvittiin tolkuton määrä. (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 146)

[The worst thing was that now Iwana had to, in addition to all the *other* labours, wade every day for many hours through the stinking Maraval Swamp waist deep in mud and chase after jumping **frogs**, which were needed in senseless numbers.]

Somewhat of a contrast in strategies can be seen between the above examples from Sumari’s translation and the strategies chosen by Aaltonen in his translation of

Antoni's *Carnival*. In the original, descriptions of natural surroundings are mostly given in English, but the occasional local plant name can also be found. Somewhat surprisingly, Aaltonen has here chosen a foreignising strategy where he in many other situations would have chosen a domesticating one. For example the *bois-canot* tree that was already seen in Naipaul's writing translates as "boiscano-puu" (*Carnival FI* 2005, 112) in Aaltonen's hands.

In Danticat's *Bones*, one plant in particular gains symbolic importance, namely parsley. Survivors of the 1937 massacre have reported that Dominican soldiers used the clear pronunciation of Spanish words such as parsley, *perejil*, to distinguish Haitians from Dominicans; "supposed inability to pronounce the Spanish 'r' was then represented as an indicator of Haitian identity" (Turits 2002, 616). However, as Turits (ibid, 618) also reports, many Haitian immigrants living in the border areas at the time of the massacre had lived there for generations and were quite fluently bilingual in Haitian Creole and Spanish, making the use of such Shibboleths "less a genuine tactic for identifying Haitians than a theater of national linguistic difference separating Haitians and Dominicans". In Danticat's novel, where the events of October 1937 are chronicled, parsley is referred to in three different languages, and particular attention is paid to the different ways in which it is pronounced in Haitian Creole and Spanish. Danticat attaches considerable cultural significance to this plant and its various uses in the Haitian-Dominican community:

We used **pèsi**, **perejil**, **parsley**, the damp summer morningness of it, mingled sprigs, bristly and coarse, gentle and docile all at once, tasteless and bitter when chewed, a sweetened wind inside the mouth, the leaves a different taste than the stalk, all this we savored for our food, our teas, our baths, to cleanse our insides as well as our outsides of our old aches and griefs, to shed a passing year's dust as a new one dawned, to wash a new infant's hair for the first time and – along with boiled orange leaves – a corpse's remains one final time. (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 62)

Using the different language versions of the word parsley becomes emblematic of the everyday life of the community and how the different languages are intermingled.

The Haitian Creole variant *pèsi* also becomes an act of defiance in the mouth of a Haitian woman, Odette, who fails to escape from the soldiers and dies at the ominously named Massacre River bordering Haiti and Dominican Republic:

With her parting breath, she mouthed in Kreyòl "**pèsi**," not calmly and slowly as if she were asking for it at a roadside garden or open market, not questioning as if demanding of the face of Heaven the greater meaning of senseless acts, no effort to say "**perejil**" as if pleading for her life. **Que diga amor?** Love? Hate?

Speak to me of things the world has yet to truly understand [...] But parsley? Was it because it was so used, so commonplace, so abundantly at hand that everyone who desired a sprig could find one? We used parsley for our food, our teas, our baths, to cleanse our insides as well as our outsides. Perhaps the Generalissimo in some larger order was trying to do the same for his country. (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 202–203)

Parsley, the commonplace item used as a cleaning agent, becomes a tool for ethnic cleansing in the hands of Trujillo's soldiers. Odette's final act is to defy the soldier's act of using language in such a way. The question in Spanish "Que diga amor?" is addressed to the soldiers, accosting the triviality of their actions.

When such attention is paid to the different language variants of a particular word, it is hard to imagine a translator choosing any other strategy but maintaining the code-switching, and this is indeed what Tamminen has done. The only form of cushioning added is the italicisation of the switches as well as the addition of Spanish punctuation which, for some reason, is missing here, even though Danticat uses it elsewhere:

Viime henkäyksellään hän kuiskasi kreoliksi "*pèsi*", ei rauhallisesti ja hitaasti niin kuin pyytäisi sitä tienvarren puutarhasta tai torilta, ei kysyvästi niin kuin penäisi taivaankannelta järjettömien tekojen syvintä tarkoitusta, ei yrittänyt sanoa "*perejil*" niin kuin rukoilisi henkensä puolesta. *¿Que diga amor?* Rakkaus? Viha? Kertokaa minulle sellaisesta mitä maailma ei vielä oikeasti ymmärrä (*Bones FI* 2000, 206)

Many other plant names in Tamminen's translations of the two Danticat novels have been translated using Finnish equivalents. Loanwords are often used for such non-native plant names in Finnish, which means that even the translated names are quite similar in appearance to the original names. Such is the case for example with "sapodilla tree" (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 106), which is translated as "sapotillapuu" (*Bones FI* 2000, 112). In such cases, the most noticeable difference is therefore the lack of italicisation in the translation. In the case of the "*flamboyant tree*" (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 97), instead of a loanword the Finnish equivalent is a rather descriptive "liekkipuu" (*Breath FI* 1999, 98) [flame tree]. In cases where a Finnish loanword does not exist, Tamminen has often maintained code-switching. This is the case for example with "kowsòl tree" (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 82), which is translated as "kowsòl-puu" (*Bones FI* 2000, 88). *Kowsòl*, or soursop, is not a very familiar fruit for Finns, and most commonly the Spanish name *guanabana* is used to refer to it. This would naturally not remove the need for code-switching but rather just change the language used for the switch in the translation.

In Levy's *Song*, as was previously described, the differentiation between languages is often blurred. This can also be seen in the description of local flora. No straightforward interlingual code-switching is used for this purpose, but Levy does use some Jamaican colloquialisms, such as "crab-grass"²⁹ (*Song* [2010] 2011, 219). Kinnunen has domesticated this using the word "rikkaruoho" (*Song FI* 2014, 196), which is a generic Finnish word for weeds.

The most significant point to be made about the translators' strategies in connection with references to Caribbean flora and fauna is that the translators seem to be using more domesticating strategies for this particular type of code-switching than for many others. Even those translators that tend to opt for the more foreignising strategies have used Finnish names for many of the plant names used in the source texts. This is perhaps an indication of the translators not considering plant names a form of interlingual code-switching in the first place. Another explanation for this is that the translators might feel that such references, which are often used in describing the setting of the novel and in providing a mental image of the surroundings in which the story takes place, are instrumental for the experience the novel provides for the reader to such an extent that their understanding is more important than in the case of many other types of switches. When more familiar, domesticated names for flora and fauna are used in translation, the reader has a better chance of being able to create an accurate mental image of the landscape being described. This was a sentiment expressed by Aaltonen during his interview; he explained that, when translating the names of local flora and fauna, he wanted to be careful about considering the "charged connotations and symbolic dimensions" of local names and would sometimes deviate from official names if he felt that they might lead the reader astray in creating the mental image sought after by the author.

4.2.4 References to oral tradition

As was previously mentioned, orality and references to Caribbean oral tradition are an integral part of Caribbean fiction, and as such the notion of orality encompasses most of the topics discussed in this dissertation. It is therefore not possible to separate the issues related to orality from other parts of this study. The purpose of this section, then, is mainly to draw attention to some of the most clear-cut examples of references

²⁹ "Name given to three or more quite different varieties of creeping, sea-coast or pond-side grasses, with plant-like hairy stalks; it is of no particular use except for binding the loose soil" (*DoCEU* s.v. 'crab-grass')

to oral tradition, which do constitute a sufficiently separate category to warrant a closer look. What is meant here by ‘clear-cut’ are passages where reference is made to well-known Caribbean folk stories, characters often appearing in folk stories as well as other types of interlingual code-switching that can be considered to be very closely linked to a Caribbean storytelling tradition. In some of the novels, for example the two Cuban novels *Mangos* and *Sisters*, such references are more closely linked to religious traditions than oral tradition in general. These will thus be discussed in subsection 4.2.5.

As orality and storytelling are such integral themes in Caribbean literatures, the examples discussed in this section merely scrape the surface. There are countless references to traditional folktales or elements thereof that do not use interlingual code-switching and thus fall beyond the scope of this dissertation. In many of the novels, reference is made to various characters or creatures from Caribbean folklore. One of the most commonly mentioned of these characters is the *soucouyant*. The tale of the soucouyant is said to be one of the oldest recorded Caribbean folktales (Anatol 2015, 35). For example in the *DoCEU*, soucouyant, which is alternatively called old-higue or fire-hag, among other names, is described as follows:

A legendary, evil, wrinkled old woman, who hides by day, but by night sheds her skin wh she carefully hides in a jar, then becomes a ball of fire roving in the air to seek out and light upon sleeping victims, esp babies, whose blood she sucks before returning to her skin, wh may have been peppered and salted by those hunting her down to get rid of her by this as their only means. (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘soukouyan’)

Timothy Robinson (2016, 66) reports that “folklorists believe that the soucouyant is an amalgamation of French vampire myths and African mythological entities known as *jumbees*”. The vampiric, blood-sucking fire-hag is also related to another mythological creature more familiar in the European tradition, namely the werewolf; in many Caribbean oral traditions, the *lougawou*, or *loup-garou*, is the “male counterpart” for the female soucouyant (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘lougawou’).

In Naipaul’s *Masseur*, the connection between these two creatures, which are traditionally seen as more separate entities in the European tradition, becomes apparent. In a passage where the narrator is recounting Ganesh’s success as a mystic, the two are listed together:

No one could tie a house better, bind it, that is, in spiritual bonds proof against the most resolute spirit. It he ran up against a particularly tough spirit there were always the books his aunt had given him. So, **balls-of-fire, soncouyants, lous-garoux**, all became as nothing. (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 127)

The description “balls-of-fire” could be seen as a kind of cushioning for both of the items of code-switching coming after it, although for a person not familiar with Caribbean oral tradition, this would not be a particularly helpful addition. More helpful, perhaps, is Naipaul’s choice of the spelling *loup-garoux*, which is similar to the French word for werewolf (the plural form here is formed with ‘-x’, whereas the Standard French plural form would use ‘-s’). This similarity to French is perhaps also what has guided Lopenen’s choice of strategy in the Finnish translation, as he has used a strategy that is a combination of foreignisation and domestication:

Kukaan ei osannut sitoa taloa paremmin, eli kietoa sitä hengellisiin kääreisiin jotka suojasivat sitä sinnikkäimpienkin henkien hyökkäyksiltä. Ja jos hän törmäsi johonkin poikkeuksellisen sisukkaaseen henkeen, hän saattoi aina turvautua tädiltään saamiinsa kirjoihin. Ja kaikki tyynni, **tulipallot, soucouyantit, ihmissudet**, kaikki nitistivät käden käänteessä. (*Masseur FI* 1978, 148)

[No one could bind a house better, or wrap it in spiritual shrouds that protected it from the attacks of even the most resolute spirits. And if he ran into a particularly tough spirit, he could always rely on the books he had got from his aunt. So all of them, **fireballs, soucouyants, werewolves**, all were taken down in an instant.]

As can be seen from this excerpt, the code-switching has been only partly maintained. The word *soncouyants* has been retained but its spelling has been modified to a more commonly used variant as well as inflected according to Finnish grammar. The word *louns-garoux*, on the other hand, has been domesticated with the Finnish equivalent for werewolves (*ihmissudet*). This guides the reader of the translation more towards the European mythology of werewolves rather than the hybrid tradition of the Caribbean that originates from both the European and the African tradition.

In the translation of *Sargasso*, Siikarla, too, has altered the spelling for soucouyant. In the source text, Rhys has used the spelling *couciant*. This is also one of the times when Rhys does not provide any particular cushioning for her code-switching: “Your face like dead woman and your eyes red like *couciant*” (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 96). In the translation, Siikarla has made a minor alteration to the spelling: “Sinun kasvot on kuin kuolleen naisen ja sinun silmät punaiset kuin *couciant*” (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 123). I believe a similarity with French is what has been sought here as well. In most instances where the spelling of items of code-switching has been altered, a standardisation of one form or another seems to be the primary motivator.

Antoni, too, uses several characters from Caribbean folklore in *Folktales*. In fact, the whole text could be seen as a rendition of a Caribbean oral narrative, as Grandmother Domingo is acting as a storyteller to her grandson. A listing of mythological creatures similar to that found in the above passage from Naipaul's novel can also be found in *Folktales*, in the description of the rumours spreading in the village about Blanchisseuse, the washerwoman: "They all believed this Blanchisseuse was an **obeahwoman** – or worse still a **sukuyant**, a **lagahoo**, or a **diabless** – and no man in he right head would tangle heself up with none of that" (*Folktales* 2000, 40–41). Here, Antoni draws a parallel with the creatures in a way that even blurs the traditional distinction between genders. No particular cushioning is provided for these labels other than the general suggestion towards their fearsome nature. At the same time, Antoni also makes reference to the *obeah* tradition, which is discussed further in subsection 4.2.5.

Sumari's translation, similarly to that by Loponen in the above passage, adopts a strategy that is a combination of foreignisation and domestication: "Ne oli varmoja siitä, että tää Blanchisseuse oli **noita**, **obeah-nainen** – tai vielä pahempaa, että hän oli **lagahoo**, tai **sukuyant** – eikä kukaan täyspäinen mies halunnut sekaantua sellaiseen" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 48) [They were sure that this Blanchisseuse was a **witch**, an **obeah-woman** – or even worse, that she was a **lagahoo**, or a **sukuyant** – and no man in their right mind wanted to get mixed up with that]. Sumari has changed the structure of this passage somewhat, grouping the domesticated *diabless*³⁰ together with 'obeahwoman' but leaving 'sukuyant' and 'lagahoo' as a pair. The latter two have also been italicised in the translation, whereas the word 'obeahwoman' has not.

The stories in *Folktales* maintain a sense of fluidity common to Caribbean orality, and, as can be seen from the above example, many of them are based on, or at least refer to, traditional tales or characters from these tales. This link with Caribbean storytellers can also be seen, for example, in a song found in one of the stories:

*So the story goes
Everybody knows
Headless Crab-o stayed
With only a back*

³⁰ "A legendary evil creature, appearing usu on a lonely road in moonlight, assuming at first the form of a very pretty young woman, finely dressed, in order to lure a man into a wooded or bushy place before revealing herself as an old crone with cloven hoofs, who will cause the man to go mad or die" (*DoCEU* s.v. 'djablès').

Crick-crack! (Folktales 2000, 64)

The phrase *Crick-crack!* is a fixed phrase traditionally used by Caribbean storytellers. It is used to constitute a dialogue between the storyteller and their audience. At the beginning of the storytelling session, the storyteller shouts *Crick?* to indicate that they are about to tell a story, and their audience replies *Crack!* to indicate that they are listening (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘Crick-crack!'). The same is repeated at the end of the story. The use of these traditional storytelling phrases links the novels into Caribbean oral tradition by creating a dialogue between the storyteller and their audience. Their use in the novels thus also points towards a dialogic relationship between the author and the reader, in which the author relates a story taking place in their Caribbean cultural setting.

In her translation of the above-mentioned song, Sumari has used a strategy of illusionistic domestication, where the phrase *Crick-crack!* is replaced with a rhyming pair in Finnish:

*Näin menee juttu
joka kaikille on tuttu,
Mulkulle ei jäänyt
muuta kuin takapää nyt –
hytkyt sytkyt!* (Folktales FI [2000] 2002, 73)

Based on this passage, it is unclear whether Sumari was familiar with the significance of this phrase in the Caribbean oral tradition. In any case, the Finnish translation used for the phrase seems to have been chosen mainly based on the rhyme; the phrase itself has no meaning as such, rather it is the kind of nonsensical rhyming phrase that can be found in nursery rhymes.

Other similar pairs of fixed phrases are found in different parts of the Caribbean. In *Breath*, Danticat uses two different pairs in a passage where the protagonist Sophie’s grandmother, Granmè Ifé, is asked by the village children in Haiti to tell a story:

“*Krik?*” called my grandmother.
“*Krak!*” answered the boys.
Their voices rang like a chorus, aiding my grandmother’s entry into her tale.
“*Tim, tim,*” she called.
“*Bwa chèch,*” they answered. “Tale master, tell us your tale.”
“The tale is not a tale unless I tell. Let the words bring wings to our feet.”
“How many do you bring us tonight?”
“Tonight, only one story.” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 123)

The second pair of phrases, *Tim, tim* and *Bwa chéché* is one used especially on French-speaking islands such as Haiti (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘Tim Tim!’). In Tamminen’s translation, we again see an example of a translation strategy using both domesticating and foreignising elements, as the first pair of phrases has been domesticated while the second has not:

”**Riks?**” mummo huusi.

”**Raks**”, vastasivat pojat.

Heidän äänensä kaikuivat kuorona ja autoivat mummoa pääsemään alkuun tarinassaan.

”*Tim, tim*”, mummo sanoi.

”*Bwa chéché*”, pojat vastasivat. ”Tarinamestari, kerro tarinasi.”

”Tarina ei ole tarina ellen sitä kerro. Tuokoot sanat jalkoihimme siivet.”

”Miten monta kerrot meille tänä iltana?”

”Tänä iltana vain yhden tarinan.” (*Breath FI* 1999, 123)

For the first pair of phrases, Tamminen uses an onomatopoeic translation which resembles the onomatopoeia of the original word pair while omitting the cultural significance of the code-switching.

Some variations of these phrases have also entered more general Caribbean English usage, which shows how aspects of oral tradition have permeated Caribbean communities. Rhys uses one such word in the following passage from *Sargasso*: “So you believe in that **tim-tim** story about obeah, you hear when you so high? All that foolishness and folly” (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 93). Here, the character Christophine uses the word *tim-tim* in its more contemporary meaning of tall tale or unreliable story (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘Tim Tim!’). The word has not been placed in italics in the source text, indicating that Rhys did not consider this interlingual code-switching but rather a Caribbean English colloquialism. This has also seemed to be the conclusion drawn by Siikarla, who has domesticated the word in the translation: “Sinä siis uskot tuohon **hölynpölyyn** obeahista, josta olet kuullut pikku tyttönä? Kaikkeen tuohon hupsuuteen ja typeryyteen” (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 119) [So you believe in that **nonsense** about obeah you have heard as a little girl? All that foolishness and folly]. This could be considered an example of a colloquial usage where the item of interlingual code-switching has become a loanword over time and is no longer considered code-switching.

As was already alluded to in chapter 3, Levy’s *Song* utilises various features of the Caribbean oral tradition. This also includes some instances of code-switching, mostly in the form of references to characters appearing in Jamaican folktales. In chapter 3, we have already met the trickster Anancy (*Song* [2010] 2011, 13). Another figure appearing repeatedly within the narrative is the previously mentioned *jumbie*,

which is a character of African origin. The *jumbie*, or *duppy*, is described as a “harmful, invisible, supernatural presence believed to be raised from the dead; an evil spirit that sometimes talks” (*DoCEU* s.v. ‘duppy’). The *jumbie* appears for example in the following passage describing the difficulties of July’s birth:

Kneeling upon the mattress, her hands upon the wall, she screamed that this pain was like no other that she had endured. Oh come, driver, lash her, brand and scorch her, for Kitty was sure no trifling pain of humankind could ever injure her again. This pain was **jumbie-made**; its claws were digging deep inside her so this child might be born. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 15–16)

Levy has not added an explanation as to the meaning of the word *jumbie*, although from the context it can be deduced that it is some kind of a clawed creature. Therefore, this passage can be considered an example of estranging foreignisation.

The above passage is the first occurrence of the word *jumbie* being used in the novel. On this occasion, Kinnunen has maintained the word but has changed its spelling and added cushioning: “Sillä hänen nyt tuntemansa polton takana oli itse **jumbee, demoni**, jonka kynnet olivat kaivautuneet syvälle hänen sisälleen kiskoakseen lapsen ulos” (*Song FI* 2014, 19) [For behind the pain she felt right now was no other than **jumbee, a demon**, whose claws were dug deep inside her to pull out the child]. Using the word demon to describe *jumbie* creates a connection to the European tradition, making the code-switching more understandable for the Finnish reader. Subsequent uses of the word *jumbie* as well as the word *duppy* have been domesticated, the former as *haamu* (*Song FI* 2014, 142), ghost, and the latter as *kuolleen henki* (*Song FI* 2014, 287), the spirit of a dead person.

Kinnunen has also made changes to the spelling of another word, namely Anancy (*Song* [2010] 2011, 13), which in the translation has been written as “Anansi” (*Song FI* 2014, 16). During the interview conducted with Kinnunen she commented on these changes in spelling. Because of the relative lack of standardisation in Jamaican Creole and the possibility of multiple different spellings, she had decided to opt for forms that would flow better within the Finnish matrix language. For example in the case of Anancy – which she described as appearing to be more an English rather than a Creole spelling – the syllable ‘cy’ would not appear in the Finnish language outside of some rarely used loanwords. The spelling ‘Anansi’ thus appears more Finnish than ‘Anancy’.

4.2.5 References to religions

In addition to – and also partly connected to – the references to Caribbean oral tradition discussed above, various different religions as well as their practices and traditions are described in many of the novels discussed in this dissertation. Most of these are references to traditional Afro-Caribbean religious practices. Most of the ten novels contain references to one religion or another, depending on the location where each text is set; for example, Naipaul, Antoni, Rhys and Levy, whose texts are set in Trinidad and Jamaica, have used elements of Obeah, whereas Danticat, whose texts are set in Haiti, uses Vodou, and García's Cuban novel uses elements of Santería. However, the Afro-Caribbean religions are not the only religious traditions described. For example, Naipaul's texts contain numerous references to the Hindi tradition, and Novas references the traditions of Catholicism. The primary focus in this section will be on interlingual code-switching used in references made to Afro-Caribbean religions, but other traditions will also be touched upon.

Brathwaite discusses the central role of religion in the survival of African cultural tradition in the Caribbean. He maintains that, as religion “is the form or kernel or core of the culture”, it is not possible to separate religion from other forms of cultural tradition, and that we should be aware of “the possibility, whenever ‘religion’ is mentioned, that a whole cultural complex is also present” (Brathwaite 1974, 74). Karla Frye ([1997] 2000) also discusses the importance of religion as an influencing factor in the Caribbean literary tradition. She writes that “religion, as a social and cultural practice, informs our understanding of the myriad issues related to power and identity that are raised in the narrative – issues such as language, slavery, colonialism, and ethnic/national identity formation” (Frye [1997] 2000, 197). Many terms and concepts related to Afro-Caribbean religions have found their way into the everyday language of the people, and thus religion, culture, and tradition are intertwined in ways that can be impossible to distinguish. Below is a brief introduction to the three Afro-Caribbean religious traditions represented in the novels, followed by a discussion of references containing interlingual code-switching.

Vodou, alternatively called Vodun, Vaudou, Vaudon, or Voodoo, among others, is a religion practiced mostly in Haiti. In Europe, it is arguably the best-known of the Afro-Caribbean religions, and also one of the most misrepresented. The rituals and traditions of Vodou vary considerably between different communities around the island. Vodou practice is centred on the worship of the *loa*, or gods, as well as the honouring of one's ancestors. A reciprocal relationship with the *loa* is an integral part of the life of Vodou practitioners, and the identity and personality of the *loa* becomes intertwined with the identities of the people (Dayan [1997] 2000, 29). The Vodou religion has developed from the cross-fertilisation of different African-based

religions as well as Roman Catholicism; due to the historical prohibition of the practice of Vodou among the slave population, the slaves began to disguise their religious practices by associating the loa with corresponding Catholic saints (Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert [1997] 2000, 5). This type of “syncretism by correspondence”, as Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert (ibid, 4–5) have termed it, allows for a process of hybridisation “through which an African deity and a Catholic saint became one on the basis of mythical or symbolic similarities”. The hybrid nature of Caribbean cultural traditions can be seen in many of the Afro-Caribbean religions, especially in Vodou.

Throughout its history, Vodou has been the subject of much controversy and exoticising (see e.g. Ramsey 2011, 9). For the European reader not familiar with Caribbean cultures, the word ‘voodoo’ has come to signify a catch-all term for all kinds of exotic or superstitious religious activity in the Caribbean area or even elsewhere. Celucien Joseph (2016) discusses the negative reactions towards the Vodou tradition within Haiti. He writes about what he has termed “Vodouphobia” in the Haitian literary tradition, as many “Haitian writers are careful to remind their Western readers that Haiti is not a Vodou-practicing nation [...] distancing the Haitian nation from its Vodou affiliation and African heritage” (ibid, 82). However, most of Joseph’s examples of this kind of literary tradition seem to be from the early 20th century, and changes in the ways in which Vodou is depicted in Haitian literature have certainly taken place in the recent decades.

Both negative and positive attitudes towards Afro-Caribbean religions are represented in the novels. Danticat’s works, for example, describe the Vodou tradition in much more positive terms than the examples discussed by Joseph would seem to suggest being the norm. The significant point to make here is that both negative and positive reactions towards religions in the novels seem to be the reactions of individual characters rather than a general view brought forth by the author. The general attitude towards Afro-Caribbean religions in the more recently published literature thus seems to be significantly more neutral and descriptive than in earlier decades.

Santería, also known as la Regla de Ocha, is a religion mostly practiced in Cuba. It is a hybrid religion combining elements from various African religions, most notably the traditions of the Yoruba in Nigeria, as well as Roman Catholicism. Similarly to Vodou, Santería is a hybrid tradition combining the worship of the Yoruba *orichas* with Catholic saints (Barnet [1997] 2000, 80). As a result of restrictions imposed on the practice of African religions in Cuba, the community assimilated their traditional beliefs with those of Catholicism, using Catholic saints (or *santos*) as representatives of the Afro-Caribbean deities (Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert [1997] 2000, 5). This adoption of the Catholic saints is also where

the name *Santería* derives its meaning. Through this hybridisation, Cuban *Santería* has developed into a religious system quite distinct from its African ancestors.

Santería as a religion places great importance on the notions of family and communality. This involves “the respectful worship of the orichas through veneration, feeding, and the ritual observance of all the consecrated dates of the liturgy” (Barnet [1997] 2000, 83). Although in today’s Cuba, the practice of *Santería* has diminished, it continues to hold an important position in Cuban culture more generally, or as Barnet (*ibid.*, 99) puts it, the “richness of *Santería*’s songs and dances, its mythology, and its permanent values of a purely aesthetic nature will remain”.

The Obeah religion is slightly less known among European readers. Obeah is practiced in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, as well as many Francophone Caribbean islands. The practice of Obeah differs from that of Vodou and *Santería* in that the latter tend to be community-oriented, whereas the former involves a more individual form of practice (Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert [1997] 2000, 6). The origins of Obeah are in the Ashanti-Fanti tradition (Richardson [1997] 2000, 173), and according to Frye ([1997] 2000, 198), Obeah “is not a religion as such but a system of beliefs grounded in spirituality and an acknowledgment of the supernatural and involving aspects of witchcraft, sorcery, magic, spells, and healing”. Historically, the Obeah-man or Obeah-woman was an important figure in the island community, and their help was sought by slaves and plantation owners alike (*ibid.*, 198–199). The Obeah-men and women were venerated members of the society and their knowledge and power was relied upon in various fields.

The negative imagery often associated with the Vodou religion, especially in Western cultures, was described above. Other Afro-Caribbean religions have suffered a similar fate, largely due to the fact that the different Afro-Caribbean traditions are often not distinguished in Western discourse. Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert ([1997] 2000, 7) discuss the “sensationalistic exploitation of ritual practices – as uncivilized, unbridled, erotic – for the titillation of the West”. Afro-Caribbean religions are thus often seen as exotic and mystical among the Western readers of Caribbean literatures. However, the use of religious imagery in Caribbean literatures goes deeper than this exoticised view. Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert (*ibid.*) also argue that much of the hostility of the colonial masters towards the practice of Afro-Caribbean religions among the slave populations stems from the assumed role of these religions “in inspiring revolts against European colonial powers”. Consequently, Afro-Caribbean religious traditions can be considered symbolic of empowerment and resistance in the postcolonial tradition.

In most cases, interlingual code-switching related to Afro-Caribbean religious references in the source texts is rather straightforward. Most of them are single words for which the authors have not added cushioning. The lack of cushioning might be connected to the authors believing the concepts to be sufficiently familiar for their

audience not to warrant explanation. However, the more likely explanation in this case is that the authors have felt reluctant to place simplifying labels on complex cultural concepts such as religious traditions, preferring to allow the wider context of the narrative to provide their reader with an understanding of the traditions discussed. The situation does, however, become somewhat more complicated when we turn to the Finnish translations. As was the case in the aforementioned references to Caribbean folklore, here, too, the strategies of individual translators vary. The treatment of the word *obeah* in different texts provides a good example of this variation. The word *obeah* appears in several of the novels, and the authors of the source texts have mostly treated it similarly, that is to say that in most cases no cushioning, apart from the occasional italics, are added to it.

In Rhys's *Sargasso*, the word *obeah* is used in several passages. Even though the author generally italicises interlingual code-switching in the novel, she has not used italics in this particular case. *Obeah* is discussed, for example, in a passage where Antoinette reminisces about some of the rumours whispered about Christophine, which momentarily caused her to become suspicious of her nurse:

The door was open to the sunlight, someone was whistling near the stables, but I was afraid. I was certain that hidden in the room (behind the old black press?) there was a dead man's dried hand, white chicken feathers, a cock with its throat cut, dying slowly, slowly. Drop by drop the blood was falling into a red basin and I imagined I could hear it. No one had ever spoken to me about **obeah** – but I knew what I would find if I dared to look. Then Christophine came in smiling and pleased to see me. Nothing alarming ever happened and I forgot, or told myself I had forgotten. (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 26–27)

The passage paints a rather negative picture of Christophine as an obeahwoman, although the imagery here stems more from the beliefs of the townspeople, who are suspicious of Christophine, rather than from Antoinette's own views on the matter. In the translation, Siikarla has added both italics as well as additional cushioning: "Kukaan ei ollut koskaan puhunut minulle ***obeahista***, ***neekereiden taikamenoista*** – mutta tiesin mitä löytäisin, jos uskaltaisin katsoa" (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 29) [No one had ever spoken to me about **obeah**, **negro magic rituals** – but I knew what I would find if I dared to look]. The explanation provided by Siikarla, *neekereiden taikamenoista* [negro magic rituals], provides a very Westernised perspective to what *obeah* is, thus creating an even more critical atmosphere than in the source text. Moreover, the translator has simplified a complex cultural phenomenon into a very stereotyping description, which seems to be what the author has tried to avoid in the source text.

Another similar example of cushioning can be found later on in the text in Daniel's dialogue, when he explains to Antoinette's husband why Christophine had been imprisoned in Jamaica: "She is **obeah woman** and they catch her" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 103). Again, Siikarla has added italics as well as cushioning: "Se on **obeah-nainen, poppamuija**, ja ne saivat sen kiinni" (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 132). Here, the term 'obeah woman' has been explained as *poppamuija*, which is a combination of the Finnish words *poppa*,³¹ shaman, and *muija*, a derogatory word for woman. Most terms related to *obeah* and associated phenomena (e.g. *zombie*) have been left without italics in the original, but italics have been added in the translation.

A similar reference to the Finnish word for shaman is also found in the translation of Antoni's *Folktales*. The word 'obeah-man' has not been italicised or cushioned in the source text: "after he bowed he head a few times and danced around the place a little bit like some kind of **obeah-man**, talking one set of nonsense about the gods of Chacachacari and such" (*Folktales* 2000, 27). Antoni's strategy here, like Rhys's in the passage quoted above, has been one of estranging foreignisation. Sumari's translation, on the other hand, has deviated from the source text's strategy and chosen something that could perhaps be positioned midway between illusionistic and non-illusionistic domestication. The code-switching in itself has been omitted from the translation and replaced with a term that cannot be said to be domestication as such but portrays the concept through a Western stereotype: "kumarrettuaan viidesti ja tanssittuaan vähäsen ympäri ympäri niin kuin joku **voodoooppaukko** ja puhuttuaan koko joukon paskaa Tshakatshakaran jumalista ja sen sellasesta" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 33–34) [after bowing five times and dancing a little around around like some kind of a **voodoo shaman** and after talking a whole lot of shit about the gods of Chacachacari and the like]. The word *voodoooppaukko* again is a combination of the words *voodoo*, *poppa*, and *ukko*, which is a colloquialism for man. Using *voodoo* as a catch-all term for any kind of Afro-Caribbean religious tradition provides a very stereotypical view of the cultural tradition. Sumari's chosen strategy creates a provocative style of speech for the figure of Grandmother Domingo, who wishes to shock her grandchild with her stories.

On the other hand, a different strategy is employed in the previously mentioned passage, where the washerwoman Blanchisseuse is described: "They all believed this Blanchisseuse was an **obeahwoman** – or worse still a sukuyant, a lagahoo, or a **diabless** – and no man in he right head would tangle heself up with none of that" (*Folktales* 2000, 40–41). Sumari has retained the word *obeah* in the translation. The word 'obeahwoman' has not been italicised, but cushioning has been added to it: "Ne

³¹ Shaman or healer, from Russian *pop* meaning priest (Hurtta 2005). In modern Finnish, the word *poppa* does not appear on its own but is generally combined with a word referring to a person, such as man or woman.

oli varmoja siitä, että tää Blanchisseuse oli **noita**, **obeah-nainen** – tai vielä pahempaa, että hän oli *lagahoo*, tai *sukuyant* – eikä kukaan täyspäinen mies halunnut sekaantua sellaiseen” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 48). Here, the word *noita*, witch, has been paired with obeahwoman as a kind of cushioning. In the source text, Blanchisseuse, instead of a witch, was called a diabless, which Sumari has omitted from the longer list of descriptors and instead paired it with the word ‘obeahwoman’. The primary difference in these two passages is in their attitude towards the Obeah tradition. In the first example, the word obeah-man is used rather mockingly as a description of a person behaving strangely, whereas in the second example, Blanchisseuse the obeah-woman is seen as a figure to be feared and respected. The difference between these takes on the tradition is perhaps also why Sumari has used different strategies in translating the references.

In Kinnunen’s translation of Levy’s *Song*, it would appear that the translator has in fact missed a reference to the Obeah tradition in the source text. The word *obeah* appears in a passage where July’s mother Kitty is given various instructions by the other slaves as to how to get her baby to stop crying:

‘A likkle rum ’pon the child’s tongue, Miss Kitty,’ Peggy Jump, from the first gang, did yell from her door at the close of each day. While, ‘Shake the pickney soft!’ was Elizabeth Millar’s suggestion and, ‘See, **Obeah** – she mus’ haf a likkle spell,’ was the thinking of Kitty’s friend, Miss Fanny. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 23)

In the translation, Kinnunen seems to have treated the word as the name of a person: “Mees **Obeahin** luo, se ottaa kirouksen pois pikkusen päältä” (*Song FI* 2014, 25) [Go to **Obeah**, it [(s)he] will take the curse off the little one]. This is an indication of the challenges faced by literary translators in dealing with cultures with which they have no previous familiarity. Although translators tend to be experts in finding information and solving issues related to cultural differences, finding such answers is not possible if the translator does not recognise that there is indeed a question that needs to be asked.

Many of the examples discussed in this and the previous sections support Brathwaite’s notion that references to religions often overlap with other cultural phenomena, such as the references to oral tradition discussed previously. This becomes apparent also in Danticat’s *Breath*, where, for example, the Vodou loa Erzulie appears as one of the characters in a story told by the narrator Sophie. Erzulie, or Ezili, is in fact not a single entity but a family consisting of several female loas. Nathaniel Murrell describes Ezili as follows:

The female spirits that belong to the Ezili family are many in number and personality, including Danto, Freda, Daome, je-wouj, and Marinete, among

others. Ezili Danto, lwa of womanhood and eroticism, is Creole and has no precedent in Dahomey. She has many personae said to embody the collective historical memory of women in the Haitian past. Devotees believe that this protective mother fought bravely for her Haitian children during the revolution. (Murrell 2010, 77)

This specifically Haitian representation of Erzulie is presumably what Danticat is drawing on. As Vodou also draws influences from the Catholic tradition, Erzulie is seen as the double of the Virgin Mary.

The stories in which Erzulie appears function as a kind of covert description of some of the Vodou traditions, as they are accounts of people's interactions with the loa:

The story goes that there was once a woman who walked around with blood constantly spurting out of her unbroken skin. This went on for twelve long years. The woman went to many doctors and specialists, but no one could heal her. [...] Finally, the woman got tired and said she was going to see Erzulie to ask her what to do.

After her consultation with Erzulie, it became apparent to the bleeding woman what she would have to do. If she wanted to stop bleeding, she would have to give up her right to be a human being. (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 87)

She goes on to explain that Erzulie gives the woman a choice between becoming a plant or an animal, and the woman is then transformed into a butterfly and healed.

The references made to Vodou in Danticat's novel contain very little interlingual code-switching, as she – just as the authors discussed above writing about Obeah – has chosen not to treat words such as loa as interlingual code-switching. For example in the following passage where Sophie and her mother visit a botanica shop in New York, the word loa is written without italics, whereas another word, *mulâtresse* [mulatto woman], is italicised: “On the walls were earthen jars, tin can lamps, and small statues of the beautiful ***mulâtresse, the goddess and loa Erzulie***” (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 52). Interestingly, the author has provided cushioning (in the form of the more Western equivalent ‘goddess’) for the word even though it has not been italicised and thus indicated as a switch. In the translation, Tamminen has followed the italicisation of the original and left both words in: “Seinillä oli saviruukkuja, peltitölkkilamppuja ja pikku patsaita kauniista ***mulâtressesta, jumalatar ja loa Erzuliesta***” (*Breath FI* 1999, 55).

In *Sisters*, García makes various references to Santería and its traditions. Different attitudes towards the religion become manifest in different characters in the novel. Most of these references are in connection to the character Constancia,

who is portrayed as a practitioner of Santería. The reader is told that she had been introduced to the religion by her childhood nanny, unbeknown to her father, who as a fervent natural scientist did not approve of religion (*Sisters* 1997, 23). The deity mostly referred to in these passages is Oshún, who is the “goddess of water, sensuality, and affection” (Murrell 2010, 35). Oshún, which is her Yoruba name, is also referred to by other names, as she is connected with the Cuban patron saint, La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre. In the novel, references made to Oshún, La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre, or simply *Virgen*, are all references to the same deity. The hybrid nature of Santería is manifested in the use of these different names. For example in a passage where Constancia visits a *santero*, a Santería priest, Constancia and the *santero* refer to the goddess using different names – or different languages, in fact. Whereas Constancia uses the Spanish name La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre, it is said that the “*santero* calls La Virgen by her African name, Oshún” (*Sisters* 1997, 108).

There is also a detailed description of a religious ceremony performed by the *santero* whom Constancia visits. Particularly in this passage, terminology related to the religion is used. Many of these types of switches are given some cushioning to explain their significance in the ceremony:

In Cuba, Constacia had heard of **Oshún**, of the goddess’s fondness for rivers and gold and honey. She unclasps the pearls from around her neck and offers the necklace to the **santero**. Piñango motions for her to place it with Oshún’s other propitiations, between the **ochinchín** – **the shrimp-and-watercress omelette** – and a six-pack of orange soda. Then Constancia kneels before the altar, giddy with the mingled scents of urgent devotion.

[...] The **santero** dips his middle finger in a bowl of water and sprinkles the floor to refresh the divining shells. His voice deepens as he prays in Yoruban, first to **Oshún**, then to the other **orishas**, until they are properly honored one by one. (*Sisters* 1997, 108–109)

García has generally italicised most terms related to Santería. In this passage, the exceptions are the word *santero* and the name of the deity Oshún. As the author has already used quite a bit of cushioning in this passage to explain the religious practices to a reader who is not familiar with Santería, there has not been much need for Tamminen to add cushioning to her translation. There is, however, one additional item of cushioning in the translation, namely an explanation for the word *orishas*:

Santero kastaa keskisormensa vesimaljaan ja pirskottelee lattian virkistääkseen ennustuskotiloita. Hänen äänensä mataloituu, kun hän rukoilee jorubaksi, ensin

Oshúnia, sitten muita **orisha-jumalia**, kunnes kullekin on vuorollaan osoitettu kunniaa. (*Sisters FI* 1999, 122)

[The santero dips his middle finger in a bowl of water and sprinkles the floor to refresh the divining shells. His voice deepens as he prays in Yoruban, first to Oshún, then the other **orisha-gods**, until each in their turn has been honored.]

The word *orishas* is one of the few which have not been provided with overt cushioning in the source text – rather the author has seemed to consider it understandable in the context. Tamminen has added the word *jumalia* [gods] as an added explanation in the Finnish translation.

Naipaul's texts differ from the other texts in this discussion in that both novels contain frequent references to Hindu religion and traditions rather than the Afro-Caribbean religions described by many of the other authors. This is a reflection of Naipaul's own background; his grandparents arrived in Trinidad as indentured labourers from India (French 2008, 5–7). These Hindu references also contain some interlingual code-switching into Hindi which, for the most part, is not cushioned in the source text. An example of this is the word *puja* which is used frequently in both Naipaul texts: "Then he collected marigolds and zinnias and oleanders from the garden for the morning *puja*, and sat without religious fervor before the elaborate shrine" (*House* [1961] 2000, 53). There is also a Hindi chant that is mentioned in several places in the text: "'Say *Rama Rama Sita Rama*, and nothing will happen to you,' Mr Biswas said" (*House* [1961] 2000, 283). These have mostly been left as they are without cushioning in the translations as well. There are, however, a few exceptions, such as in the case of the words *raksha* and *suttee*, which were discussed in subsection 4.1.3.

In *Masseur*, Naipaul does make passing reference to the Obeah tradition as well. In a passage describing Ganesh's increasing success as a mystic, other aspiring mystics on the island are referred to, rather dismissingly, as obeahmen: "Every *obeah*-man was quick enough to call himself a mystic" (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 128). In the passage, Naipaul reverses the traditional views according to which Hindu traditions have been disparaged in the Trinidadian society; when Ganesh becomes a renowned mystic (the Hindu tradition's equivalent for obeah-man), the Obeah practitioners of the island start using the Hindu word instead. Loponen has followed Naipaul's strategy quite closely, without providing any additional cushioning for the Finnish reader: "Jokainen **obeah-mies** rupesi tuota pikaa kutsumaan itseään mystikoksi" (*Masseur FI* 1978, 149). Contrary to most of the other authors discussed above, Naipaul has chosen to add italics to the word *obeah*, and Loponen has thus followed Naipaul's chosen strategy.

A noteworthy common attribute in the use of interlingual code-switching related to religious terminology is that translators have clearly found such terminology to be more in need of cushioning than in the opinion of the source text authors. Consequently, quite a large proportion of italicisation and cushioning added by translators is connected to religious references. Unfortunately, in many cases such added cushioning has also betrayed a rather Eurocentric and exoticising tendency from the part of the translators. Although many of the novels do contain characters whose attitudes towards Afro-Caribbean religions are markedly negative, the authors' tendency to avoid overt cushioning or simple explanatory phrases in connection to religious terminology suggests that the general aim has been to provide an objective, descriptive representation rather than a purely negative one.

4.2.6 Other culturally specific items

In the five subsections above, some of the most prominent types of interlingual code-switching in the ten novels under discussion are described. There are, however, a multitude of other topics and themes found in interlingual code-switching as well. Many of these topics concern the cultural specificities of each of the islands on which the novels are set. This subsection introduces some of these cultural specificities and discusses how the various topics are handled by the Finnish translators.

In the earlier discussion, it was indicated that Danticat tends to provide overt cushioning for most of her interlingual code-switching. There are, however, some instances where cushioning is more covert, meaning that explanation for the switch is not provided directly but rather becomes apparent within the wider context of the novel. This is mostly the case with references to such wide-ranging cultural topics for which it would be difficult to provide short explanations. This was already seen in the previous subsections, where, for example, topics related to the Vodou tradition were described with the help of traditional storytelling methods. Another example can be found in the concept of *konbit*, which is not provided with an explanation when it is first mentioned in the text (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 3). Danticat does, however, discuss the term in more detail later on:

Back then, a whole village would get together and clear a field for planting. The group would take turns clearing each person's land, until all the land in the village was cleared and planted. The women would cook large amounts of food while the men worked. Then at sunset, when the work was done, everyone would

gather together and enjoy a feast of eating, dancing, and laughter. (*Breath* [1994] 1998, 11)

The practice of *konbit* has historically been a binding force in Haitian rural communities. Jennie Smith (2001, 84) describes it as “virtually any sort of collective effort” that can range from “house-raising” to “school children engaged in helping one another with lessons”. The significance of *konbit* for Haitian communities becomes apparent as Danticat touches upon the topic several times.

In the translation, Tamminen has chosen a strategy of foreignisation, as she has not provided additional cushioning for *konbit*. A possible Finnish equivalent, *talkoot*, does exist. *Talkoot* is an event in which the members of a community work together to help someone achieve a task or to achieve a communal task. Traditionally these were related to agricultural work or the maintenance of communal spaces (see e.g. *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* s.v. ‘talkoot’), but in modern Finnish usage it has come to mean virtually any kind of joint effort. However, the cultural context of the Haitian community differs considerably from that of the Finnish community, and thus using a domesticated term here would form a rather different mental image for the reader. Interestingly, the word *talkoot* is often thought of as an ‘untranslatable’ Finnish cultural term, equivalents of which do not appear in many other languages (see e.g. Lomas 2016, 552). The descriptions of *konbit* do bring to mind the Finnish concept of *talkoot*; consequently, the foreignising strategy here allows the Finnish reader to make those connections on their own and find historical and cultural similarities between the two communities.

In *Bones*, one of the cultural specificities referred to using interlingual code-switching is the game *oslè*. In the following passage, the protagonist Amabelle explains the game she used to play with her father as a child:

When I was a child, my father and I used to play a game called **oslè** using the small front-leg joint bones from a goat. These bones are like dominoes, except they have a curved back and three hollowed sides. I’d spent hours alone trying to get a handful of five to land on the same side. I never succeeded. (*Bones* [1998] 2000, 44)

The game is similar to variations found in many different cultures; in the English-speaking world the game is most commonly referred to as knucklebones or jacks. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for example cites several references to a similar game in Ancient Greek texts (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. ‘knucklebones’). In the translation, Tamminen has, faithful to her style, maintained the code-switching with only italicisation as added cushioning:

Kun olin pieni, isäni ja minä leikimme *oslè*-nimistä leikkiä vuohen etujalan pienillä nivelluilla. Ne luut ovat kuin dominonappuloita, paitsi että ne ovat takaa kaarevat ja kolmelta kyljeltä koverat. Olin yrittänyt monta tuntia saada viittä luuta putoamaan kourastani samalle kyljelle. En onnistunut koskaan. (*Bones FI* 2000, 52)

Here, a straightforward option for domestication would not even have been an option, as this game, to my knowledge, has not been well-known in Finland historically, although modern variations of it do exist. Using a domesticated name for the same game would therefore not have been a choice for the translator here.

In García's *Sisters*, Cuban culture and history are represented with various concepts involving the use of interlingual code-switching. Specifically in passages narrated by the father, terminology related to Cuban cigar factories is used. For example the grandfather Reinaldo's work as a *lector* in a cigar factory – which was already referenced in section 3.1 – is alluded to in several passages. Other occupations related to the cigar trade are also mentioned:

*The young woman, who wore a gingham dress and a starched white kerchief, took a seat in the front row and removed a circular blade from her purse. The foreman brought her a large pile of tobacco leaves. She was a **despalilladora**, whose specialty it was to strip the stems from the leaves.* (*Sisters* 1997, 86).

In addition to terms related to the cigar trade, García also makes frequent reference to various kinds of food items that are common in Cuba. The names of these food items are mostly given in Spanish: “Constancia isn’t very hungry, but she orders a *medianoche* anyway, with a banana milk shake and sweet plantains on the side” (*Sisters* 1997, 171). In some passages the food items are explained, whereas in others, such as the passage quoted above with the word *medianoche*, a kind of Cuban sandwich, no particular cushioning is provided. In the translation, Tamminen generally does not add cushioning to these types of references if it does not exist in the source text; both *despalilladora* (*Sisters FI* 1999, 97) and *medianoche* (*Sisters FI* 1999, 190) have been left as they are, with similar kinds of cushioning to that provided in the source text.

In *Mangos*, Novas also uses code-switching into Spanish in references to various food items. Selander's approach to their translation has been similar to Tamminen's, as can be seen in the following passage where Esmeralda attends to the members of Arnaldo's congregation: “And before the group dispersed an hour later, after Cuban coffee and *cuchifritos* which Esmeralda served the believers on Sunday mornings, everyone had privately asked Juan to whisper a few numbers in their ears” (*Mangos* 1996, 93). *Cuchifritos* are different types of fried finger food. Novas does not provide

any particular cushioning for the word in the source text apart from italicisation. The same strategy is followed by the translator: “Ja ennen kuin ryhmä hajaantui tuntia myöhemmin, Esmeraldan tarjoiltua uskovaisille sunnuntaiaamun tavanomaiset kuubalaiset kahvit ja *cuchifritot*, jokainen oli pyytänyt yksityisesti Juania kuiskaamaan muutaman numeron korvaansa” (*Mangos FI* 1998, 91). The only change made in the translation is that the plural marker of the source text has been replaced with the Finnish plural marker ‘-t’.

Various Caribbean musical genres are referenced in several of the works, especially in the novels of Antoni. In the following passage from *Carnival*, Antoni provides a translation into French of an eye dialect rendition of a Creole phrase: “Shay-lee and I thanked him, wished him a ‘**santee maneetay**’ – **sans humanité, our way of saying happy carnival**, and we took off” (*Carnival* 2005, 114). The phrase *sans humanité* is a reference to the Trinidadian calypso tradition. Gordon Rohlehr (1990, 57–62) writes about the early 20th century “Oratorical Calypso” tradition, in which two calypsonians would enter into a melodic battle of words, also termed *picong*. These battle songs traditionally consisted of eight-line stanzas, where the last line would be ‘sans humanité’ or other similar repeated phrase. These repeating phrases also connect the *picong* tradition with the Caribbean storytelling tradition and its repeated fixed phrases such as *Krik? Krak!* or *Tim tim* and *Bwa chès*.

In the Finnish translation, the layeredness of code-switching, which was already discussed in connection with Tamminen’s translations of Danticat’s novels, comes across. We are provided with both the French as well as an additional Finnish translation of the phrase, adding to the complexity of the switch: “Shayling ja minä kiitimme Samiä, huikkasimme hänelle ”**santee maneetay**” – **sans humanité, holtitonta menoa, mikä oli tapamme toivottaa hänelle hyvää karnevaalia**, ja lähdimme” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 150) [Shayling and I thanked Sam, said to him “**santee maneetay**” – **sans humanité, crazy behaviour, which was our way of wishing him a happy carnival**, and left]. The cushioning, however, only provides additional information on the meaning of the phrase, not its connection to the calypso tradition, leaving the translation as vague in this respect as the source text.

Musical references are also found in García’s *Sisters*. The younger sister Reina in particular is said to enjoy listening to Cuban music, and Cuban musical genres are referenced in narration pertaining to her: “Reina realizes with a start that she’s been unconsciously whistling. She recognizes the melody, a traditional *changüi* from Oriente she once heard a *negrito* sing in Céspedes Park. ***He nacido para ti, Nengón. Para ti, Nengón***. His singing had made Reina cry” (*Sisters* 1997, 158). *Changüi* music, which originates in the Oriente region of Cuba, as García notes, is a very particular style of music that has influenced other musical genres in Cuba. Benjamin Lapidus (2008, xv) explains that *changüi* songs “chronicle the exploits of musicians and events of the legendary musical past, thus providing the listener with a rich oral

history of the roots of Cuban [song] in the region”. The lyrics cited by Reina are indeed the lyrics to a well-known changüi or nengón: “Nengón Para Ti” by Familia Valera Miranda. García does not provide a translation for the lyrics, nor does Tamminen in the Finnish translation:

Reina tajuaa hätkähtäen että hän on huomaamattaan viheltänyt. Hän tunnistaa sävelmän, perinteisen orientalaisen **changüin**, jota hän kerran kuuli erään **negriton** laulavan Céspedesin puistossa. **He nacido para ti, Nengón. Para ti, Nengón.** Reinaa oli itkettänyt hänen laulaessaan. (*Sisters FI* 1999, 175)

It is unclear whether an English-speaking reader of the novel would be expected to recognise the song, but a Finnish reader would certainly be unlikely to.

Both cushioned and uncushioned references to traditional songs can also be found in Rhys’s *Sargasso*. Antoinette occasionally references songs that she used to hear as a child and tries to teach them to her husband:

All day she’d be like any other girl, smile at herself in her looking-glass (*do you like this scent?*), try to teach me her songs, for they haunted me.

Adieu foulard, adieu madras, or Ma belle ka di maman li. My beautiful girl said to her mother (*No it is not like that. Now listen. It is this way*). (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 76)

Here, two traditional French Creole songs are mentioned, but only the second title is provided with a translation, perhaps due to it being the less-known of the two.³² In the Finnish translation, Siikarla has followed Rhys’s strategy: “*Adieu foulard, adieu madras, tai Ma belle ka di maman li*. Kaunis tyttöni sanoi äidilleen” (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 96). No additional cushioning is thus provided in the translation.

³² The song *Adieu foulard, adieu madras* is generally attributed to François Claude de Bouillé, a governor of Guadeloupe in the 18th century, and various recordings of it are available.

5 Spoken language

This chapter focuses on the ways in which spoken varieties of language are used in Anglophone Caribbean novels and their Finnish translations. This part of the analysis has been separated into its own unit due to the differences in the ways in which the authors and thus also the translators have dealt with this specific type of heterolingualism. Section 5.1 introduces the source texts and their various ways of using spoken language as a representation of English-lexifier creoles and how different levels of the language are represented in the features used to produce the illusion of spoken creole. The section discusses the most prominent spoken language features found in the novels that can be considered to correspond with linguistic features that are representative of prototypical creole languages. Some features connected to spoken language more generally are also discussed, such as the use of discourse markers in dialogue.

Section 5.2 contains a discussion on the strategies used by the translators in rendering these varieties into Finnish. At the phonological level, specific attention is paid to eight features representative of Finnish spoken language that previous research has shown to be considered geographically or culturally unmarked. At the morphosyntactic level, six most recurrent unmarked features are discussed. The analysis of the lexical level focuses on the most frequently used features, namely the use of colloquial forms of pronouns as well as the use of colloquialisms more generally.

For this part of the analysis, the body of data is slightly smaller than for the first part, as not all of the texts I have discussed thus far contain spoken language varieties. As was mentioned earlier, this is due to the fact that spoken varieties in these texts are used to represent spoken English-lexifier creole languages. Therefore, this type of use for spoken language is only possible in texts where English-lexifier creoles are used. This excludes the novels by Haitian and Cuban authors where the primary embedded languages are Haitian Creole – which is a French-lexifier creole – and Cuban Spanish, respectively. The remaining novels, namely those set on English-speaking islands, all contain spoken language in one form or another.

As the novels that are excluded from this part of my study fall chronologically in the middle, this also divides the remaining materials into two groups of three. The

older translations, namely Siikarla's translation of Rhys's *Sargasso* and Loponen's translations of Naipaul's *Masseur* and *House* were translated in 1968, 1978, and 1984, respectively, whereas the newer translations, that is to say Sumari's translation of Antoni's *Folktales*, Aaltonen's translation of Antoni's *Carnival*, and Kinnunen's translation of Levy's *Song*, were published in 2000, 2005, and 2014, respectively. Some differences in the style of spoken language used in both the source texts and the translations in these two groups become manifest. For example, there is a trend towards a diversification of tools used for creating the illusion of spoken language; in the older texts, a large part of the features used in depicting spoken language are associated with lexical choices, while other levels of the language appear to be less prominent. In the more recent texts, the utilisation of different levels of language appears to be more varied. Both the source texts and the translations manifest some changes over time that become apparent in the ways in which different levels of language are represented. The use of phonological features in particular has increased over time in both the original novels and their translations, although these changes may at least partly be attributable to the writing styles of specific authors and translators.

As Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013, 70) point out, while methods for creating the illusion of spoken language appear on all levels of the language, there are differences between languages as to which aspects are produced on which level. In order to demonstrate this diversity, the discussion here is divided into different subsections based on three levels of language: phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon. Not all features of language fall neatly under one category, and thus some features may be discussed under one heading even though they could be considered to be a combination of different linguistic levels. The first part of the analysis comprises a discussion on how these different levels become manifest in the source texts and how they can be seen to represent various features commonly identified with creole languages. The second part of the analysis comprises a discussion on how the illusion of spoken language is created in the translations and how the methods used for Finnish might differ from those used in the source texts.

5.1 Varieties of spoken language in Anglophone Caribbean novels

The six novels discussed in this section represent two different English-lexifier creoles; the works of Naipaul and Antoni are set in Trinidad, and the characters thus use Trinidadian Creole. Levy's novel is set in Jamaica, and although Rhys's novel's

setting switches between different settings, the characters using spoken language are mostly from Jamaica, and thus it can be argued that the language represented in both these novels is Jamaican Creole.

Interestingly, some significant differences can be seen in the ways in which Jamaican Creole is represented in the two novels. Although both use the same primary embedded language and are set in a similar time period – *Song* in the midst of the abolishment of slavery and *Sargasso* very soon after abolishment – there are differences in the techniques that the two authors have employed in creating the illusion of spoken language in their respective texts. These differences can be argued to be related to the gap between the times of publication of the two novels. At the time when Rhys published her novel, Caribbean literary tradition was still finding its form, and the use of multiple languages as well as the use of spoken language in writing were relatively new and experimental techniques. What might seem as relative conservatism from today's perspective was innovative at the time, and now, decades later, as Levy follows in the tradition laid down by many celebrated authors before her, she can be said to have much more freedom in using a variety of tools at her disposal. Similar distinctions are also visible in the other works, although Rhys and Levy form the most distinct pair. Some of the more significant differences between the novels will be demonstrated in the analysis below. In the following subsections, the discussion of the spoken language used in the six works under analysis is divided into different subsections for the different levels of the language.

5.1.1 Phonology

Phonology could be said to be the level of language most directly associated with spoken language, as it is the level of language we primarily hear rather than read. In different varieties of a given language, the same word may be pronounced in different ways even though its written form is the same. If the author wishes to draw attention to the fact that a character is pronouncing a specific word differently to what the reader might expect, this can be shown with using non-standard orthography. On the other hand, non-standard orthography is also often used in literary works to depict the standard pronunciation of words rather than a non-standard pronunciation. This serves the purpose of drawing attention to the use of spoken language. This type of literary device is referred to as *eye dialect*, which for example Paul Bowdre (1977, 247–248) explains as “quasi-phonetic spellings”, indicating “a standard pronunciation of the word involved” but simultaneously conveying “to the reader the impression that there is something peculiar about the

speech of the person using these nonstandard spellings”. As Bowdre explains, the term eye dialect was coined by George Philip Krapp (1925) in his description of the literary use of American dialects. Changes in orthography are thus used for two distinct purposes: firstly, to create an illusion of spoken language by using a spelling that differs from the way in which a word is normally written in its standard form but not from the way in which it is normally pronounced in standard language, and secondly, to indicate that a word is being pronounced differently from its standard pronunciation.

In the context of translated Caribbean literature, however, the concept of eye dialect is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, as spoken language in these novels is used to portray the use of a creole language, instances where the non-standard spelling of a word would actually represent the Standard English pronunciation of a word are few. Jamaican Creole does have a standard orthography – and did have a version available already when Rhys published *Sargasso* – but the official orthography is not very widely used among the general population even today and mostly remains a tool for linguists (Farquharson 2013). On the other hand, Trinidadian Creole does not have an official orthography as of yet, although progress has been made towards creating one (see e.g. Winer 1990). One could ask if a concept such as eye dialect, which is restricted to the depiction of a standardised language, would even be useful for describing the use of languages of limited standardisation.

Secondly, another issue arises when the term is used in connection with the Finnish translations. The Finnish language has a very transparent orthography, which means that the way in which words are written corresponds very closely with the way in which they are pronounced in Standard Finnish. One could thus argue that the concept of eye dialect is not a particularly useful one for literature in Finnish, either. In more recent studies, the use of the term eye dialect seems to have broadened to also cover dialectal (non-standard) pronunciation of words, which does make the term somewhat more appropriate for use in analysing Finnish spoken language. For example, Frank H. Nuessel Jr. (1982, 346) describes eye dialect as “a visual contrivance in which conventional orthography is modified to indicate dialectal deviations from the phonological system of the standard language”. Jyrki Nummi, in his study of Finnish dialects in the seminal works of Väinö Linna, in turn defines eye dialect as “stylised speech created specifically for the purposes of literary representation” (Nummi 1993, 67, my translation). For my purposes, however, the original definition as referred to by Krapp and Bowdre is more useful, as the concept provides some insight into changes that have taken place over time in the use of spoken language in the novels under discussion, which will become apparent in the examples to follow.

In the two Naipaul novels, *Masseur* and *House*, the most commonly used tools for creating the illusion of spoken language appear at the morphosyntactic and lexical levels, but some phonological changes can also be seen. In *Masseur*, the majority of these phonological changes can be found in the dialogue of Ramlogan, Ganesh's father-in-law. Ramlogan is a shopkeeper who deliberately appears less intelligent than he is in order to make Ganesh feel smarter. For example, he claims to be illiterate, but sometimes gives himself away by reading a newspaper or excerpts from a book written by Ganesh. He regularly notes this difference between himself and Ganesh, just as he does in the following passage:

Ramlogan rearranged the roses in the vase. 'Still, you is a educated man, and you could take care of yourself. Not like me, sahib. Since I was five I been working, with nobody looking after me. Still, all that do something for me. Guess what it do for me, sahib.'

'Can't guess. Tell me what it do.'

'It give me **cha'acter and sensa values**, sahib. That's what it give me. **Cha'acter and sensa values.**' (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 36)

Here we can see Ramlogan attempting to sound worldlier than he perhaps believes himself to be in order to look good in front of Ganesh, which causes him to mispronounce words that probably are not part of his regular vocabulary. It is unclear whether this is genuine difficulty or another attempt by Ramlogan to point out Ganesh's education.

In other places, phonological changes are used in phrases that represent Ramlogan's personal style of speech, and these particular phrases, such as 'smatterer fact' in the following passage, are only ever found in his dialogue. In this scene, Ramlogan is telling Ganesh about a shop sign made by his daughter Leela to recruit shop assistants:

Ganesh said, 'Leela know a lot of **punctuation marks**.'

'That is it, sahib. All day the girl just sitting down and talking about these **punctuation marks**. She is like that, sahib.'

'But who is your shop assistants?'

'Leela say is the law to have the sign up, sahib. But, **smatterer fact**, I don't like the idea of having a girl in the shop.' (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 33)

In addition to the 'smatterer fact' characteristic of Ramlogan's speech, we also see him using the misspelled word 'punctuation' instead of 'punctuation'. Here, Naipaul is also playing with meaning, as both these words do actually have distinct meanings beyond misspelling, which shows the reader that Ramlogan does not have

a clear understanding of the topic he is discussing. A similar situation arises in a conversation between Ganesh and his friend Beharry, who is also not a highly educated man. Ganesh is telling Beharry about his plans to use some of the notebooks he has accumulated during his extensive reading to produce a book of his own:

‘You know my note-books,’ Ganesh said to Beharry. ‘Well, I was thinking if it wouldn’t be a good idea to start off with that. You know, printing a set of things about religion, from different authors, and explaining what they say.’

‘**Antheology**,’ Beharry said, nibbling.

‘Right a **antology**. What you think?’ (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 82)

Beharry wishes to show his understanding of the topic by using a word that he mispronounces. Ganesh then agrees with him but corrects the pronunciation. However, neither of them is using the standard spelling for the word ‘anthology’. The difference here lies in the concept of eye dialect; Ganesh’s spelling, ‘antology’, although not the standard spelling of the word, nevertheless reflects its standard pronunciation. Both of the examples above thus use phonological alterations in order to create an image of Ganesh as an educated man.

A similar example of the use of eye dialect can be found in *House* in a scene where Mr Biswas runs into trouble when registering at a school, because he does not have a birth certificate. Returning home, he tries to pass on the information to his mother as best as he can:

‘How old you is, boy?’ Lal, the teacher at the Canadian Mission school, asked, his small hairy hands fussing with the cylindrical ruler on his roll-book.

Mr Biswas shrugged and shifted from one bare foot to the other.

‘How you people want to get on, eh?’ Lal had been converted to Presbyterianism from a low Hindu caste and held all unconverted Hindus in contempt. As part of this contempt he spoke to them in broken English.

‘Tomorrow I want you to bring your **buth certificate**. You hear?’

‘**Buth suttificate**?’ Bipti echoed the English words. ‘I don’t have any.’

‘Don’t have any, eh?’ Lal said the next day. ‘You people don’t even know how to born, it look like.’ (*House* [1961] 2000, 41–42)

Both Lal and Bipti, Mr Biswas’s mother, use the non-standard form ‘buth’ for ‘birth’, whereas Bipti also uses the non-standard spelling ‘suttificate’ for ‘certificate’. The non-standard spelling here is used as an indication of Bipti using a word she is unfamiliar with, one which she hears from her son, who probably was also not familiar with the concept of birth certificates and was merely repeating the words of

his teacher as closely as he could. The mimicking aspect of language here is also indicated by Naipaul's use of the word 'echoed' in connection with Bipti's dialogue.

As can be seen from the previous passages, it would appear that Naipaul uses phonological alterations for two specific purposes: to create a specific style of speech for a given character, and to indicate that a character is not able to use a specific word in its standard form. That is to say, Naipaul uses phonological features of language to create distinctions related to the social aspects of language – for example age or level of education – rather than geographical markedness. The features of Trinidadian Creole become apparent on other levels of language, which I will discuss in more detail in upcoming sections.

In Rhys's *Sargasso*, the use of non-standard orthography in spoken English is even scarcer than in Naipaul's work; in fact, I was only able to find one example of it, in the dialogue of Amélie, a young servant working at the Granbois estate, where she drops the final 'd' in 'husband': "Your **husban**' he outside the door and he look like he see zombi" (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 83). Similarly to Naipaul, Rhys has focused her depiction of the features of spoken language on other levels of language.

In *Song*, Levy makes much more extensive use of the phonological characteristics associated with creoles than Naipaul or Rhys in their works; in other words, Levy makes use of the way that words sound spoken out loud and the ways in which Jamaican pronunciation of certain words differs from the British or the American pronunciation. For example, in the following passage, which depicts a scene in the kitchen of the Amity plantation's great house, we can see the word 'gwine' in place of the Standard English form 'going':

Hannah had little time for pastry, for all the hucksters came in upon the kitchen that day in an eager, yet lazy, line to sell their wares.

The negro woman with skin so black it was blue called 'mango **gwine** pass' as she strode to the kitchen door in her gaudy striped skirt with a basket upon her head. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 80)

According to Harry (2006, 127), one of the distinguishing features of Jamaican Creole is vowel harmony due to which the first vowel of tri-vocalic sequences is usually replaced by an approximant, such as the /w/ in 'gwine' in the above example. The written appearance of the word 'gwine' does differ significantly from the Standard English 'going', but spoken aloud the two variants seem much closer to one another. With the use of such phonological features, Levy is thus creating a style of written language that "wants to be spoken aloud", that is to say, understanding the dialogue becomes easier when the reader imagines it being spoken.

In *Song*, the narration alternates between sections where the protagonist recounts the story of her own youth as a slave on the Amity plantation and the aftermath of

abolition as well as meta-textual sections where she talks about the process of writing down her history. The matrix language of the meta-textual sections differs slightly from that of the sections set in July's past. This pertains to the differentiation between first and third-person narrators that was also discussed by Talib (2002, 137); the meta-textual sections with first-person narration contain more elements of spoken language than the past sections with third-person narration. Although the narrator is technically the same in both of these instances – the present-day July talking alternately about the present and the past – the style of writing helps the reader distinguish between the two.

Many of the meta-textual sections deal with disagreements July and her son have over July's writing. For example, in the following passage July becomes angry at her son who is insisting that she also write about some of the painful or shameful events of her life, which she would rather skip over in order not to have to relive them: "For he believes his mama should suffer every little thing again. Him wan' me suffer every **likkle t'ing** again!" (*Song* [2010] 2011, 192). As July becomes angry at her son, she switches from standard to non-standard language, and we get the same sentence repeated in Jamaican Creole. We can see two distinct phonological features in this sentence that are related to Jamaican Creole. Firstly, the word 'likkle' is an example of what Harry (2006, 127) describes as "obstruent neutralisation" in Jamaican Creole; the alveolar stop of the Standard English 'little' becomes the velar consonant of 'likkle' in Jamaican Creole. Secondly, in the word 't'ing', we can see another phonological difference between Standard English and Jamaican Creole. According to Devonish and Harry (2008, 475), the Standard English voiceless dental fricative /θ/ is also very commonly used in Jamaican English, but in Jamaican Creole it is usually replaced with /t/, as it has been here. In addition to these two words that have clear ties to Jamaican Creole phonology, Levy has also omitted the final consonant in the word 'wan'', for which the Standard English equivalent would be 'want'. This is perhaps more a general feature of spoken English rather than one that could be tied specifically to the representation of Jamaican Creole.

Levy also provides us with the lyrics of a song in Jamaican Creole. July writes about a prison dungeon at the Amity plantation into which misbehaving slaves were thrown as punishment. The brutalities of the dungeon have made their way into a nursery rhyme sung by the slave children:

Me mama beg **de** bakkra na **t'row** mi in **de** dungeon,
 Me **sista** beg **de** bakkra na **t'row** her in **de** dungeon,
De missus tell **de** bakkra go **t'row dem** in **di** dungeon.
 So down **de** dread dungeon **dem** did go. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 205)

In the song, we can see multiple levels of language represented in creating the illusion of spoken – or in this case sung – language. On the phonological level, we see changes in phonemes that are common for Jamaican Creole, such as ‘de’ and ‘di’ for the definite article. This is also a feature related to the replacement of dental fricatives mentioned above; in this case the voiced dental fricative /ð/ is replaced with /d/ (Devonish and Harry 2008, 475). The same replacement of the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ with a /t/ that was already apparent in the previous example can also be seen here in the word ‘t’row’. Elements of eye dialect can also be seen for example in words like ‘sista’ and ‘missus’.

A significant point to be made about the two passages shown above is that Levy has indicated with the use of an apostrophe whenever she has omitted letters that would be expected from Standard English. The same use of an apostrophe could be seen in the earlier example from Rhys’s novel (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 83). This is a clear argument for seeing the spoken language used in the novels as a non-standard form of English used as an approximation of a creole language rather than a genuine example of spoken creole, as both authors are using apostrophes to indicate an omission relative to Standard English.

Antoni, on the other hand, does not use apostrophes to indicate omissions in his writing. He also uses phonological features related to Trinidadian Creole quite consistently in his works. In the following passage from *Carnival* we can see several examples of this. The passage is a conversation between the protagonist William and Eddoes, who has just performed at the carnival. He is thanking William for giving him some marijuana to calm his nerves before the show:

“**Wha**?” he laughed. “Save my life you know. Me did feeling plenty geegeeree to go across them stage!”

“That was only to give you the edge.”

“Think so?” he steupsed. “Me ain’t accustom to them kinda crowd, **unnastand**?”

“Well you better get accustomed,” I said. “Minsh’ll have you playing King every year, after last night. You watch.”

“We go see **bout** that!”

[...]

Mother go cuss plenty when she hear **bout** that, I could tell you.”

“**A-tall**,” I said. “She’ll be proud.”

“You **tink**?” (*Carnival* 2005, 180–181)

In the above passage we can see omissions of letters expected from Standard English in ‘wha’ instead of ‘what’, ‘bout’ instead of ‘about’, and ‘tink’ instead of ‘think’. Other phonological alterations can also be seen for example in ‘unnastand’ instead

of ‘understand’ – which is very close to the standard pronunciation of the word and could thus be considered a form of eye dialect – and ‘a-tall’³³ instead of ‘at all’, which shows us that William is using non-standard word stress.

Although *Folktales* contains significantly more spoken language overall than *Carnival*, the use of phonological features in *Folktales* seems to be somewhat less frequent. The word ‘a-tall’ mentioned above also appears frequently in *Folktales*. Besides this, very few phonological features are utilised in the text. The most prominent feature related to the phonological level of language in the novel is the frequent use of onomatopoeic words, which Grandmother Domingo uses to liven up her storytelling. For example, in the following passage, there is a description of the washerwoman Blanchisseuse washing her clothes in the river:

Now she would begin the labour of beating out all the washing against the rocks, piece by piece, raising up a petticoat or a camisole or a frilly lace bodice above she head, and she would bring it down with a hard **tha-wack** against the rocks. And since everything was pure white, it would require plenty **tha-wacking** and soaking and rinsing and **tha-wacking** against the rocks again, before it was clean enough to satisfy this woman. (*Folktales* 2000, 43)

Other similar ‘sound effects’ can be found for example when someone falls to the ground – “*boodoops!*” (78) – when someone falls down from a tree after fainting – “*ploops!*” (42) – or when a gun is fired – “*bam! bam!*” (24).

Overall, a change towards the increased use of phonological features in the novels over time can be seen, as the three novels in the more recent group contain significantly more phonological features of spoken language than the three novels in the older group. Moreover, the phonological features found in the newer novels are more closely linked to the representation of spoken creoles than in the older texts; in *Sargasso*, the use of phonological features was practically non-existent, and in the two Naipaul novels the author mainly used them to create social distinctions (for example with the use of eye dialect) rather than for linking the dialogue to creole languages. This would suggest that contemporary Caribbean authors have quite a bit more range, as well as freedom, in using spoken language elements in their work. The works published by the earlier, internationally renowned authors have provided a new generation of writers with a fruitful ground for experimentation, which is certainly showing in the works published.

³³ “Emphatic used to express surprise, anger, or disapproval [...] emphatic negative, equivalent to *not at all*, often used alone as a contradiction of a previous statement.” (*DotECott* s.v. ‘at all, atall, atorl, tall’)

5.1.2 Morphosyntax

In addition to the phonological features discussed above, the authors utilise a variety of morphosyntactic features that are common in the English-lexifier creoles of the Caribbean region. Bartens (2013, 93) lists many of these features that are typically found in (especially Atlantic) creole languages. She asserts that creole languages tend to be analytical in terms of their morphology, meaning that there is often very little inflectional or derivational morphology, especially in basilectal varieties. As acrolectal varieties are by definition closer to their lexifier languages, there is a greater tendency for them to also adopt some of the morphology of their lexifiers. Inflections of verbs are thus a common feature by which many creole languages can be identified. Reduplication is mentioned as a particularly common morphological element in creole languages, and it is used for various purposes, for example intensification or pluralisation, and can be “considered the least marked of all morphological processes” in prototypical creole languages (ibid, 97). As was explained in subsection 2.1.4, reduplication is here used to refer to the kind of repetition that appears at the level of word-formation, whereas repetition refers to the level of discourse. Although the discussion here will be primarily focused on the analysis of reduplication at the morphological level, some examples of repetition are also provided in this section for the sake of comparison.

Examples of both changes in inflectional morphology and the use of reduplication can be found in the texts in various forms. Both types of morphological features can be seen in the following passage from Naipaul’s *Masseur*, in which Ganesh is describing his first meeting with Mr Stewart, an Englishman pretending to be Kashmiri Hindu: “He just **did look crazy crazy** to me. He had funny cateyes that **frighten** me, and you shoulda see the way the sweat was running down his red face. Like he not used to the heat” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 27). As is apparent from this passage, there is a general tendency towards analytic verb forms (did look, frighten), which means that a lot of the inflectional morphology that would be expected of Standard English is omitted. There are, however, also verbs that are inflected according to Standard English grammar (had, was running), which shows us that some inflectional morphology can still be found in the text. In this passage, we can also see some reduplication used for the purpose of intensification (crazy crazy). Reduplication like this is a very common element found in many creole languages.

In *House*, techniques similar to those found in *Masseur* are used to portray spoken language, albeit somewhat less prominently. For example, in the following passage, where Mr Biswas is referring to his own lack of a birth certificate as a child, we can see some of the same grammatical features that were used in the dialogues of *Masseur*: “Well! **I glad she register**. You know the government and nobody else

did want to believe that I was even born. People had to swear and sign all sort of paper” (*House* [1961] 2000, 162). Here, again, we can see a tendency towards analytic verb forms and omission of auxiliary verbs (‘I glad she register’ instead of ‘I am glad she was registered’). Analyticity also comes through in the past tense construction ‘did want to believe’.

Many of the elements of spoken language we see in these passages are similar to elements that linguists have identified as common features of Trinidadian Creole. For example, Mühleisen (2013) explains that in Trinidadian Creole “tense marking is marginal and optional”, which explains the dropping of many auxiliary verbs. The verb ‘shoulda’ in the first passage could be considered what Bartens (2013, 93) refers to as borrowing as “unanalysed lexical units”. Another common feature of Trinidadian Creole that is repeated in Naipaul’s work is the phrase ‘it have’ used in existential clauses. This can be seen for example in the following passage, where Ganesh and his friend Beharry discuss the effects of the Second World War on Trinidad: “But you forgetting that we is just a tiny little dot on some maps. If you ask me, I think Hitler ain’t even know **it have** a place called Trinidad and that **it have** people like you and me and Suruj Mooma living on it” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 101–102).

Verbs, as can be seen, are where morphosyntactic features of spoken language are often found. The tendency towards analytic rather than synthetic verb forms can manifest itself in various different ways. One characteristic feature of creoles when compared to Standard English is in the use of auxiliary verbs. This can be seen in the speech of various characters in *Masseur*. The following passage is a conversation between Ganesh and Ramlogan, a shopkeeper and Ganesh’s father-in-law:

When, later that afternoon, Ganesh came back to Fourways, he was surprised to hear Ramlogan shouting, ‘Oh, sahib! Sahib! **What happen** that **you passing** without saying anything? **People go think** we vex.’

Ganesh saw Ramlogan smiling broadly behind the counter. ‘**What you want** me to say when you have a **sharpen cutlass** underneath the counter, eh?’

‘Cutlass? **Sharpen cutlass? You making joke**, sahib. Come in, man, sahib, and sit down. Yes, sit down, and let we have a chat. Eh, but **is just like** old times, eh, sahib?’

‘**Things change** now.’ (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 52)

Omission of auxiliary verbs can be seen in several places in this passage (‘happen’ instead of ‘has happened’; ‘passing’ instead of ‘are passing’; ‘what you want’ instead of ‘what do you want’; ‘making joke’ instead of ‘are making’). Omissions are also present in other parts of the sentence and other word classes: there are, for example, omitted subjects (‘is just like’ instead of ‘it is just like’) and articles (‘making joke’

instead of ‘making a joke’). Bartens (2013, 100) points out that, in many creole languages, “distinction between verbs and adjectives is problematic, if one follows the model of European grammar”. This also has to do with the tendency towards analytic structures, as adjectives derived from verbs can in fact be similar in appearance to the verb. This is exemplified in the above passage, where Ganesh mentions Ramlogan having a “sharpen cutlass” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 52).

Naipaul frequently utilises reduplication in his dialogue to create words and phrases that are reminiscent of Trinidadian Creole. In addition to the above-mentioned “crazy crazy”, *Masseur* contains several other reduplications, such as “poor poor” (44), “humble humble” (65), and “big big” (75). Similarly, in *House*, we find words such as “bickering-ickering” (28), “sound sound” (150), and “two twos” (172). In Naipaul’s case, the use of reduplication becomes doubly commonplace due to the influence of Indian languages, where reduplication is also used. Kishwar Zafir (2006, 183) mentions some forms of reduplication in Naipaul’s works that have their origin in Hindi. The above-mentioned “bickering-ickering” from *House* could be considered an example of Hindi-style reduplication.

Even more frequent than reduplication, however, is the use of repetition at the level of discourse. In the following passage from *Masseur*, the wife of Ganesh’s shopkeeper friend Beharry is complaining about his husband calling her cousin a quack for taking up dentistry: “You know what wrong with Suruj Poopa? **He just jealous the boy**. He can’t even cut toenail, and a little boy pulling out big people teeth. **Is just jealous he jealous the boy**” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 61). The dialogue provides an excellent example of repetition at the level of discourse. Whereas reduplication can be considered a typical feature of creole languages, repetition at the level of discourse is a feature that is considered typical of spoken language in general (see e.g. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 38).

In Rhys’s *Sargasso*, Christophine is the character with clearly the largest amount of spoken language dialogue to her name. Her speech is a combination of elements of Jamaican Creole with occasional switches to a French-lexifier creole, presumably that of her native island Martinique. The following passage is a conversation between Christophine and Antoinette, who has gone to her old nurse to ask for advice on what to do about her husband:

‘Your husband certainly **love** money,’ she said. ‘That is no lie. Money **have pretty face** for everybody, but for that man money pretty like pretty self, he can’t see nothing else.’

‘Help me then.’

‘Listen *doudou ché*. **Plenty people** fasten bad words on you and on your mother. I know it. I know who is talking and what they say. **The man not** a bad man, even if **he love** money, but **he hear** so many stories **he don’t know** what

to believe. That is why **he keep** away. I put no trust in none of those people round you. Not here, not in Jamaica.'

'Not Aunt Cora?'

'Your **aunty old woman** now, **she turn** her face to the wall.' (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 94)

Some similarities can be seen between how this dialogue and those in Naipaul's works have been constructed, but there are some noticeable differences as well. There is clearly a tendency towards analytic verb forms in Rhys's text, which corresponds with the two previous texts, although she does use auxiliary verbs in her text on most occasions where they would appear in British English. Additionally, articles and prepositions have been omitted in many places. She also uses standard British English pronouns, which, according to Farquharson (2013), would not generally be the case in Jamaican Creole. Dagmar Deuber (2014, 107–108) does, however, make a distinction between basilectal varieties, where case or gender is generally not marked, and other varieties, in which pronouns tend to correspond more closely with Standard English.

Another character speaking in Jamaican Creole is Daniel, who claims to be Antoinette's half-brother. He sends letters to Antoinette's husband asking to speak with him, and the Englishman goes to meet him at his house. The following passage is an account of Antoinette's father given by Daniel:

'They call me Daniel,' he said, still not looking at me, 'but my name is Esau. All I get is curses and get-outs from that damn devil my father. My father old Cosway, with his white marble tablet in the English church at Spanish Town for all to see. **It have** a crest on it and a motto in Latin and words in big black letters. **I never know** such lies. I hope that stone **tie** round his neck and drag him down to Hell in the end. "Pious", they write up. "Beloved by all". Not a word about the people **he buy and sell** like cattle. (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 101)

Many of the same grammatical features that are found in Christophine's speech are also present here. There are analytic verb forms as well as standard British English pronouns. A link can also be drawn between Daniel's speech and that of Ganesh in *Masseur*, as they both use the existential clause 'it have' associated with creole languages.

Just as was the case with phonological features, Levy has also utilised morphosyntactic features common to creole languages to a higher degree than Naipaul and Rhys. Some morphosyntactic features typical of Jamaican Creole can be seen in the following passage, where July is trying to convince the lady of the

plantation that she was not the one that spoiled the dress she was meant to be mending:

Missus, **the dress spoil! Them mash up** your dress. **It mess up, it mess up.** Oh, beat me, missus, come beat me! **The dress spoil, spoil, spoil.** Come tek a whip and beat me. **I beggin'** you, missus! (*Song* [2010] 2011, 62)

Firstly, here there is the pronoun 'them' that in Standard English would be considered a non-standard pronoun. However, as Farquharson (2013) explains, Jamaican Creole does not generally show case or gender distinction, especially in basilectal varieties. For Jamaican Creole, 'them' (or 'dem') can therefore be used in both subject and object position. Levy has thus used the pronoun in the way in which it would be used in Jamaican Creole but opted for a spelling that looks more like Standard English. There is also a prominent lack of auxiliary verbs and a clear tendency towards analytic verb forms. In a similar manner to Naipaul, Levy also uses reduplication regularly, which is also visible in the above passage ('spoil, spoil, spoil'). Other phrases with reduplication found in the novel are for example "talkee-talkee" (39), "fool-fool" (71), "chat-chat" (81), and "bug-a-bugs" (232).

In Antoni's *Folktales*, morphosyntactic features typical of Trinidadian Creole appear most prominently in the use of pronouns. In the following passage, we can see several examples of pronouns that would not be considered Standard English:

Johnny, we couldn't help **weself** but pick up two more barrels on the way back home from the bank to have for **we** dinner, and the Colonel and Tanzania dropped us off and they left with the ten-thousand in cash for the double-expansion of Skippy's Pizza. Of course, the soldiers and Gregoria and me and Mrs Carmichael had already devoured those two barrels down to **they** final drumstick, and we were waiting there beneath the big empty tent until almost midnight, before the Colonel could pull up at last with **he** motorcar loaded to the whitewalls again with all **he** little boys. (*Folktales* 2000, 107)

Antoni has here used a strategy similar to that chosen by Levy, as many of the pronouns used in this passage correspond to Mühleisen's (2013) account of pronouns used in Trinidadian Creole, but Antoni has chosen spellings that correspond most closely with the Standard English variants of the pronouns.

Features of Trinidadian Creole are also used in *Carnival*, mostly in the dialogue of characters that are living in Trinidad, although on occasion these are also seen in narration as well as the dialogue of Trinidadian-born characters living in the USA. In the case of the latter, their usage increases in those parts of the text that take place in Trinidad; returning home for the carnival has an effect on the speech of the

returnees. William's speech, however, stays quite close to Standard English even in Trinidad. The distinction can be seen for example in the discussion between William and Eddoes already referenced in the previous subsection. In this passage William and Eddoes are discussing the reaction of Eddoes's tribal mother (Eddoes is a member of a reclusive group called the Earth People, who generally disapprove of the carnival tradition) to him taking part in the carnival:

Eddoes took a sip of his Guinness, "You know, Mother wasn't so **please** bout me coming in Rome to play in the carnival neither."

Rome was town, civilization.

"**How you mean?**"

"**She did vex! Cuss me** two days straight, when **I tell she** I was thinking to come in and join the band."

[...]

"Think she knows you played King?" I said. "And bust the trophy?"

He laughed. "Don't know yet, but **she go find out!** Mother **go cuss** plenty when she hear bout that, I could tell you."

"A-tall," I said. "She'll be proud."

"You tink?"

"How you mean? She'll be angry to start with, but she'll get over it."
(*Carnival* 2005, 181)

Both analytic verb forms and non-standard pronouns can be found in this passage. There is also an example of a common feature in both Trinidadian Creole and Jamaican Creole mentioned by Deuber (2014, 139), namely the lack of do-support in question phrases ('how you mean?').

At the morphosyntactic level, the variation between features of creole languages used by the authors in depicting spoken language is significantly less prominent than in the case of phonological features. However, it does appear as if the newer texts still utilise morphosyntactic features more often than the older ones. Overall, non-standard verb forms are where the most significant variation can be seen, although in the newer works, significant usage of creolised pronouns is also present.

5.1.3 Lexicon

The lexical level is the level of language where there is the most variety in the depiction of spoken language in the six novels under discussion. How significant the

gap between the lexical and for example the morphosyntactic level is depends on the classification of various features of language. Some features, such as the use of reduplication in word formation, could be argued to belong to either level of language, depending on perspective. The same can be said of pronouns to an extent; even though pronouns have here been discussed as morphosyntactic features, the choice between different pronoun alternatives – such as between a Standard English pronoun, a Creole pronoun, or a combination of the two – could also be considered a lexical choice. In this section, the discussion focuses on features that can perhaps more clearly be considered specific to the lexical level, such as the use of colloquialisms and different kinds of discourse markers. My categorisation of items as discourse markers in this study is rather broad, along the lines of, for example, Gillian Sankoff et al. (1997, 195–197) in their analysis of discourse markers used by speakers of Anglophone Montreal French, the primary distinguishing features being that they are lexical items that “do not enter into construction syntactically with other elements of the sentence” and that the “propositional meaning of the sentence does not depend on their presence”.

Naipaul is a particularly prolific user of discourse markers, and the dialogues of both *Masseur* and *House* are full of them. In the following passage from *House*, Mr Biswas is confronted by Jagdat, his step-cousin, after he travels to meet his relatives in order to ask for some money to build his house but loses his nerve:

Jagdat said breezily. ‘You come to squeeze something out of the old man, **eh**?’

‘What? Me? I just come to see the old people, **man**.’

‘That wasn’t what the old man tell me.’

Jagdat waited, then clapped Mr Biswas on the back.

‘But I didn’t tell him anything.’

‘The old Mohun, **man**. Trying out the old diplomatic tactic, **eh**. The old tic-tac-toe.’

‘I wasn’t trying out anything.’

‘No, no. You mustn’t think I look down on you for trying. What else you think I doing every day? But the old man sharp, **boy**. He could smell a thing like that before you even start thinking about it. So what, **eh**? You still building this house for the children sake?’

‘You build one for yours?’ (*House* [1961] 2000, 251)

Although some modifications can be seen at the morphosyntactic level, mostly the illusion of spoken language in *House* seems to come from lexical rather than morphosyntactic choices. Such lexical choices are here exemplified by the use of ‘eh’ in tag questions and ‘man’, which here appears as a discourse marker. Discourse

markers are also found in *Masseur*. These include for example discourse markers such as ‘nah’, ‘man’ (3), and ‘too besides’ (25).

The word ‘man’ appears especially commonly in most of the texts discussed here. It can be considered a prototypically Caribbean discourse marker that is easily recognisable even by foreign readers. In fact, four out of the six novels use the word repeatedly. In *Folktales*, Antoni uses ‘man’ for example in a phrase where the narrator is explaining how she received her nickname Skip from American soldiers: “Most the time I *still* couldn’t understand what the ass they were trying to tell me, so I just answered ‘Skip it! Skip it, na **man**!’ and that was how they put that namenick on me” (*Folktales* 2000, 69–70). In *Carnival*, the word is used especially prominently by a Trinidadian man selling William some marijuana during the carnival: “Them pants the business, **man**! I see Lucky Chan wearing some pants just so in *Golden Dragon*. You catch it?” (*Carnival* 2005, 120).

The two novels where ‘man’ is not used are the two that are set furthest in the past, namely *Sargasso* and *Song*. This is perhaps an indication that ‘man’ as a discourse marker is somewhat modern in its usage. Another possible reason for its absence from these two novels could be its personal nature; most dialogues where spoken language is used in the two novels take place between characters who are not of equal status, for example between a slave-owner and a slave or a servant and their employer. In such a setting, a discourse marker like ‘man’, which has a very personal tone, would perhaps not be appropriate. The most commonly used discourse marker in *Sargasso* appears to be ‘too besides’, which is repeatedly used by Christophine. In *Levy*, a commonly occurring word is the onomatopoeic ‘cha’, which could perhaps be categorised somewhere between a discourse marker and an exclamation, as it functions as an indicator of disdain: “Hannah had stopped listening, for the need to shout, ‘And me to fix-up all this? You a gut-fatty, **cha**!’ at her missus was becoming overpowering within her” (*Song* [2010] 2011, 75).

Various kinds of colloquialisms are also extensively used in the novels to create a style of text that is reminiscent of spoken language. Here, the distinction between spoken language and interlingual code-switching often becomes blurred, as these colloquialisms are often words that are either only used locally in the Caribbean or have a different meaning in the region. Colloquialisms appear in many forms and are used for various purposes. Most of them are connected to spoken language at a general level rather than spoken creole specifically. For example, in *Masseur*, when Ramlogan becomes angry at a man commenting on an argument between himself and Ganesh, he shouts at the man to leave: “You, haul your tail away from here quick, quick, before I break it up for you” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 45). Similarly, in *House*, a distinction between the language of narration and the language of dialogue is made by using more colloquial language in dialogue. This can be seen in the following passage where Shama’s niece, Suniti, is commenting on the rumours of

Mr Biswas planning to buy a house: “Suniti said to Shama, ‘I hear that you come like a big-shot, Aunt.’ She didn’t hide her amusement. ‘Buying house and thing” (*House* [1961] 2000, 11). As the examples demonstrate, Naipaul has used similar methods for creating the illusion of spoken language in the dialogues of both novels with slightly different emphasis; in *Masseur* there is more of a tendency towards changes appearing on the morphosyntactic level whereas in *House* the effect is created more with lexical choices.

In Rhys’s *Sargasso*, too, much of the differentiation between different registers of English is created with lexical choices. In section 3.1 we already saw an example of how Christophine switches between registers based on addressee and topic. The most colloquial style can usually be found in dialogue where Christophine is addressing Antoinette, especially in passages where she is angry or snide, such as in the following passage where the two are having an argument: “Christophine was waiting for me when I came back crying. “What you want to go up there for?” she said, and I said, “You shut up devil, damned black devil from Hell.” Christophine said, “Aie Aie Aie! Look me trouble, look me cross!” (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 111). Anger seems to be the cause for a particularly colloquial style of speech in many passages in Antoni’s work. This comes across for example in a passage where a hotel-keeper becomes infuriated at William’s drunken antics, as he manages to flood the bath tub in his hotel room (*Carnival* 2005, 115). In addition to quite a few swearwords – which in themselves can be considered an indicator of a colloquial register, the passage contains many other types of colloquialisms, such as ‘get you backside out’, ‘all-you’, and ‘mummy and daddy’.

In *Folktales*, most of the narration is written using a very colloquial style, as the purpose has been to portray the kind of language spoken by a storyteller to young children. The distinction comes across most clearly in the passages where, on occasion, a character does use a higher register. For example, in the following passage Grandmother Domingo uses a higher register than her usual speech to report the words of the King of Chacachacari:

Amadao went and came back again saying that it wasn’t Ali Baba, it was the *King of Chacachacari* that ‘**would wish to speak to the madame of this fine house**’. I told Amadao I’d never before heard of no *Chacachacari*, and if the person at the door didn’t stop playing the fool, I would mix up the boil cocoo in he panties and wrap up he cojones in a steamed banana leaf to make the next pastelle! (*Folktales* 2000, 8)

Compared to the colloquial style of speech of the narrator, the characters speaking in a higher register and using polished vocabulary – such as the King here – become caricatures and seemingly pompous.

In *Song*, a differentiation can also be seen in the vocabulary used in narration and in dialogue. July as the narrator chooses a register that could be considered almost poetic at times in order to elevate the story she is telling, whereas a more colloquial style is used in much of the dialogue:

And there was James Richards. Any word this new overseer man would utter was going to vex him, and the white man had not opened his mouth yet. ‘Me never be a slave no more. Me a freeman,’ this carpenter did complain to any who could hear. ‘Me no have to listen up no bakkra no more.’ (*Song* [2010] 2011, 219)

As can be seen from many of the above passages, the lexical level is where a broadest selection of choices having to do with the style and register of a text are made, and these short examples from the source texts merely scrape the surface of the variety of lexical variation found in the novels.

5.2 Varieties of Caribbean spoken language in Finnish translation

In the previous section, spoken language, particularly as a representation of creole, was portrayed in the six novels under discussion. This section focuses on the ways in which these spoken varieties have been rendered into Finnish by the translators. Overall, the most common global strategy has been to use elements of Finnish spoken language that are sufficiently unmarked not to be directly identifiable with a specific regional dialect of Finnish. However, exceptions to this tendency can also be found. In terms of changes occurring over time, the most clear development is something I believe to be connected to general attitudes towards creole languages; in the newer translations, there appears to be a decrease in the use of what has been termed for example *native talk* (see e.g. Freed 1981), meaning the type of language that makes its speaker appear to be a non-native speaker. Instead, the trend has been towards using language that has the appearance of fluent Finnish spoken language.

In subsection 2.2.3, some of the previous research on the use of spoken language varieties in Finnish translated literature was introduced. In their extensive study on the ways in which spoken language is translated into Finnish, Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2016, 7) discuss the various strategies available for the translator, which they have divided into five different categories. In their treatment of spoken language, the translations discussed in this dissertation fall primarily under categories 2 and 5: “use

of but a few features of spoken language, typically lexical or widely used morpho-syntactic features” and “use of an artificial variety consisting of features from different dialects” (ibid.). None of the translators have completely standardised spoken language, and neither has any of them used a specific regional dialect of Finnish. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013, 70) further stress that, even though some universal features of how spoken language is represented in writing can be found across languages, the specific ways in which these features are created in each language may differ significantly. This can cause challenges when translating spoken language from one language to another. Additional issues are caused by the geographical, social and cultural markedness (or indexicality) of specific varieties of spoken language.

In the following section, the discussion of the spoken language varieties used in the Finnish translations is divided into separate subsections for different levels of language, corresponding with the subsections in 5.1. The most commonly used linguistic features in creating the illusion of spoken language at different levels are analysed in terms of their markedness and the effect they have on the overall appearance of spoken language varieties.

5.2.1 Phonology

The phonological level of language is by far the most underrepresented one in the Finnish translations when it comes to the representation of spoken language. This is partly due to the nature of the Finnish language, as it has a very transparent orthography. Therefore, literary devices such as eye dialect, which can be useful in texts written in English, are not quite as functional when writing in Finnish. Another issue is that many phonological deviations from Standard Finnish are quite clearly associated with specific geographic varieties.

There are, however, some common phonological features of spoken Finnish that can be considered sufficiently unmarked not to be associated with specific regional dialects. Previously mentioned studies by Mantila (2004, 325–327) and Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013, 41–43) list the following phonological features as either unmarked or in the process of becoming unmarked: the omission of word-final vowels; the omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/; the substitution of vowel sequences ending in /a/ with a monophthong; the omission of the weak grade of /t/; the substitution of /ts/ with /tt/; the omission of word-final /n/; the omission of word-final /t/ in past participle verb forms; and word border assimilation. All of the features listed here appear in the translations to varying degrees. The following

subsection provides some examples of their use in the translations, along with a few examples of the use of more marked features of spoken language.

The oldest of the translations, Siikarla's translation of Rhys's *Sargasso*, does not use any of the above-mentioned phonological features. This is in keeping with the source text, as Rhys does not make use of the phonological features of spoken English, either. Siikarla has mostly created the illusion of spoken language by morphosyntactic and lexical means, which I will return to in the upcoming subsections. In terms of using phonological features for creating the illusion of spoken language in the Finnish translations, trends over time seems to be a less significant factor than a translator's personal style. The most prominent users of phonological features of spoken Finnish are Lopenen and Kinnunen, who translated works by Naipaul and Levy, respectively.

In Lopenen's translations of Naipaul's works, the most commonly used unmarked phonological features are the omission of word-final vowels, the omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/, and the substitution of vowel sequences ending in /a/ with a monophthong. For example, in the translation of *Masseur*, the following conversation between Ganesh and Leela regarding Ganesh's book collection contains several phonological features attributable to Finnish spoken language:

'How much books it have here, pundit?' I asked.

'I never really count them,' Ganesh said, and called, 'Leela!'

The woman with the *cocoye* broom came so quickly I fancied she was waiting to be called.

'Leela,' Ganesh said, 'the boy want to know how much book it have here.'

'Let me see,' Leela said, and hitched up the broom to her waistband. She started to count off the fingers of her left hand. 'Four hundred Everyman, two hundred Penguin – six hundred. Six hundred, and one hundred Reader's Library, make seven hundred. I think with all the other book it have about fifteen hundred good book here.' [...]

After seeing all those books in Ganesh's hut I was ready to believe in him and quite prepared to take his mixture. And I respected him even more when he gave my mother a little booklet, saying, 'Take it. I giving it to you free although it cost me a lot to write it and print it.' (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 5–7)

"Montako kirjaa täällä on kaikkiaan, pandiitti?" minä kysyin.

"Enpä noita ole tullut laskeneeksi", Ganesh sanoi ja huusi: "Leela!"

Cocoyeluudalla varustautunut nainen pelmahti huoneeseen niin pian että epäilin hänen olleen varta vasten kuulolla.

"Leela", Ganesh sanoi, "tämä poika tahtoo tietää montako kirjaa täällä on."

”Annas kun tuumin”, Leela sanoi ja pujotti luudan vyötärönauhansa alle. Hän ryhtyi laskemaan vasemman käden sormillaan. ”Neljäsatua Everymania, **kakssataa** Penguinia – se tekee **kuussataa**. **Kuussataa** ynnä sata Reader’s Librarya, se tekee seitsemänsataa. Ja siihen vielä kaikki muut kirjat niin täällä on jotain tuhannenviissataa hyvää kirjaa.” [...]

Nähtyäni sen tolkuttoman kirjamäärän Ganeshin mökissä olin valmis uskomaan häneen ja ottamaan hänen mikstuuraansa. Ja minä kunnioitin häntä entistä enemmän, kun hän antoi äidilleni pienen kirjasen sanoen: ”Ottakaa tämä. Saatte sen **ilmaseksi** vaikka sen **kirjottaminen** ja painaminen maksoi minulle pitkän pennin.” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 15–17)

In this passage, we can see four instances of the omission of a word-final /i/ in the numbers listed by Leela (‘two’ *kaksi* → *kaks*; ‘six’ *kuusi* → *kuus*; ‘five’ *viisi* → *viis*) as well as two instances of the omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/ (‘for free’ *ilmaiseksi* → *ilmaseksi*; ‘writing’ *kirjoittaminen* → *kirjottaminen*). These are the most common types of phonological features found in the translation.

Additionally, there are some less frequently used features, such as the negative verb *elä* instead of *älä*, which can be seen for example in the following passage in which the young Ganesh takes part in a rite of passage where he is meant to pretend to be leaving to go study in Benares: “Dookhie säntäsi hänen peräänsä itkeä niiskuttaen ja anellen englanniksi: ”Ei ei, poika. Ei. **Elä** mene Benaresiin opiskeleen”” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 22) [Dookhie ran after him crying and begging in English: “No no, boy. Don’t go to Benares to study]. This is a significantly more marked feature of Finnish spoken language, which is generally associated with Eastern Finnish dialects. Another example of such a marked feature used by Loponen is what is termed “common gemination” (*yleisgeminaatio*), which means the lengthening of consonants in short, stressed syllables, such as in the following passage: “**Varrokkaas** vähän. Täällä yksi vintiö kaipaa pientä hivutusta. **Varrokkaas** ihan vähän” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 25) [Just you wait. One rascal here is in need of a hiding. Just you wait]. Mantila (2004, 326) has listed this under features that are regionally widespread but socially marked as rural.

Loponen also employs phonological features in his translation of *House*, although the features used and their frequency differ slightly from those used in the translation of *Masseur*. The omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/ is again the most commonly found phonological feature. However, omission of a word-final /i/ is not used in the translation of *House*. Some other less frequent features can again be found. In the following passage, Mr Biswas has taken up work as a sign-painter. He and his friend Alec are discussing with a customer about what the sign should look like:

Alec said “Course he could paint humming birds, if you really want them. The only thing is, it would look a little follow-fashion.’

‘And too besides it oldfashion,’ Mr Biswas said.

‘I glad you say that,’ Alec said. ‘Was what I been trying to tell him. The modern thing is to have lots of words. All the shops in Port of Spain have signs with nothing but words. Tell him.’

‘What sort of words?’ the proprietor said.

‘Sweet drinks, cakes and ice,’ Mr Biswas said. (*House* [1961] 2000, 75)

Alec sanoi: ”Tietty se osaa maalata kolibreja, jos vaan haluatte ne. **Ainoo** vaan että se on vähän **niinkun** matkimista.”

”Ja sitä paitsi **vanhanaikasta**”, mr Biswas sanoi.

”Hyvä että sanoit”, Alec sanoi. ”Sitä minäkin olen yrittänyt sille sanoa. **Nykyaikanen** tapa on panna paljon sanoja. Port of Spainissa on kaikkien kauppojen kilvissä pelkästään sanoja. Kerro sille.”

”**Mimmosia** sanoja?” omistaja sanoi.

”**Virvotusjuomia**, kakkuja ja jäätä”, mr Biswas sanoi. (*House FI* 1984, 80–81)

In this passage, there are five examples of the omission of /i/ in diphthongs (‘kind of like’ *niin kuin* → *niinkun*; ‘old-fashioned’ *vanhanaikaista* → *vanhanaikasta*; ‘modern’ *nykyaikainen* → *nykyaikanen*; ‘what kind of’ *mimmoisia* → *mimmosia*; ‘refreshments’ *virvoitusjuomia* → *virvotusjuomia*). *Niinkun* is also an example of a word where word boundary assimilation has occurred. Additionally, the passage contains an example of the substitution of a vowel sequence ending in /a/ with a monophthong (‘only’ *ainoa* → *ainoo*).

There is a clear difference between Siikarla and Loponen when it comes to their styles of creating spoken Finnish; Siikarla is significantly more conservative in using elements of spoken Finnish in her dialogues than Loponen is in his. Chronologically, this does fall into place with what other researchers have noted about the history of spoken language use in Finnish translated literature. The Finnish translation of J. D. Salinger’s *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), which was translated by Pentti Saarikoski in 1961, has been named a watershed in the use of spoken language in Finnish literature, both original and translated (Paunonen 2000, 41). Translators, in general, have been slower to react to such changes than authors writing their works in Finnish, and thus spoken language only began to be used extensively in literary translations in the 1970s (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 325), which is when the earlier of the two translations by Loponen was published.

In the newer group of translations, the most recent text, namely Kinnunen’s translation of Levy’s *Song*, stands out from the other two texts in terms of the variety

of phonological features used. The two other texts, both translations of Antoni's works, use a similar set of features that can be found in Lopenen's translations, albeit to a somewhat lesser degree. The phonological feature most commonly employed by Sumari in her translation of Antoni's *Folktales* is the omission of /i/ in diphthongs. However, she does not use this feature consistently, but leaves some diphthongs in their standard form while shortening others. This can be seen, for example, in the following passage, in which Grandmother Domingo is telling her grandson a story about cocoa bean harvesting:

But the thing about the fresh-picked cocoa beans now, was that when you stood up hard and pounded you feet it didn't make no noise a-tall, but only the soft soft little sound that you could hardly hear, like *poe poe poe*. (*Folktales* 2000, 4)

Ja nythän on niin että kun vastapoimittua kaakaopapua **polkaisee**, niin siitä ei lähde yhtään meteliä, vain **sellanen pikkunen pikkunen** ääni jonka juuri ja juuri voi kuulla, vähän **niin kuin** pof-pof-pof. (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 9)

[And the thing is that when a freshly picked cocoa bean is stamped, it doesn't make any noise, only the kind of tiny tiny sound that you can only just hear, kind of like pof-pof-pof.]

Here, we have two instances of words where the diphthong has been shortened ('the kind of' *sellainen* → *sellanen*; 'tiny' *pikkuinen* → *pikkunen*) and two instances where similar diphthongs have been left in their standard form ('stamp' *polkaisee* ≠ *polkasee*; 'kind of like' *niin kuin* ≠ *niinkun*), the latter of which was already seen in its shortened form in the above passage from Lopenen's translation. Other unmarked phonological features employed by Sumari include the omission of word-final vowels – for example *yks* instead of *yksi* for 'one' in "no se on **yks** mikä on varmaa" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 20) [well that's one thing that's certain] – and word boundary assimilation – such as *tiedätsä* instead of *tiedätkö sä* for 'you know' in "Nevil oli kaunis lapsi, **tiedätsä**" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 23) [Nevil was a beautiful child, you know]. Out of the features discussed here, word boundary assimilation is the only one that appears in Sumari's translation significantly more frequently than in Lopenen's translations.

In the first passage we can also see an example of Antoni's use of onomatopoeic words, which was already discussed in subsection 5.1.1. In most cases, Sumari has translated these onomatopoeically, changing the spelling slightly to make the word appear more Finnish. Thus, "*boodoops!*" (*Folktales* 2000, 78) becomes "*podop!*" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 88), and "*tha-wack*" (*Folktales* 2000, 43) becomes "*ta-vak!*" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 50). Somewhat similar phonetic alterations to the

source text also appear in the translation of *Carnival* in passages where William is pointing out someone else's pronunciation: "They wanted **phoulorie balls**. Their spokesman, a southern American, pronounced it **pay-lore-high**, in three distinct syllables" (*Carnival* 2005, 148). For a Finnish reader, the word "pay-lore-high" might not be particularly useful, and thus the spelling has been changed to a more domestic "pei-lou-rii" (*Carnival FI* 2005, 193).

Some more marked phonological features are also found in Sumari's translation. For example, in the previously mentioned homophonic translation of the Trinidadian Creole exclamation "*Papa-yo!*" (e.g. *Folktales* 2000, 139), namely "*Voe pappa-joo!*" (e.g. *Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 153), Sumari employs what is termed diphthong reduction, which means that the latter component of closing diphthongs is pronounced more openly than in standard language ('oh' *voi* → *voe*). Diphthong reductions appear in several Finnish regional dialects, but the kind used by Sumari here is generally associated with Eastern Finnish dialects (Hakulinen et al. 2010, 55–56). Another feature associated with Eastern Finnish dialects that can be found in Sumari's translation is the substitution of /d/ as the weak grade of /t/ with a /t/, such as for example in "naissessa oli sitä vikaa mitä saarilla joskus kuulee kutsuttavan 'takapihan **tietemieheksi**'" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 66–67) [the woman was somewhat of what in the islands was sometimes called "backyard scientist"] ('scientist' *tiedemieheksi* → *tietemieheksi*). This is related to the omission of the weak grade of /t/ mentioned by Mantila but is a more marked version of the same feature (Eskelinen 1985, 8).

In the translation of *Carnival*, Aaltonen uses phonological features to differentiate between the spoken language of characters speaking Trinidadian Creole and those speaking spoken American English. In general, the language of the speakers of American English is much closer to Standard Finnish than that of the Creole-speakers. For example, we can see some phonological features used in the speech of a Trinidadian man, who is complimenting William's choice of trousers:

"Them pants the business, man! I see Lucky Chan wearing some pants just so in *Golden Dragon*. You catch it?"

I shook my head, exhaling.

"Good flick, and *Golden Dragon Strike Again*. Man, I got to get me some pants like that."

"They're cool," I said, then realized he'd take it the other way.

"They cool all right. One these days I go reach in foreign too." (*Carnival* 2005, 120)

"Noi on asialliset pökät, man! Lucky Chanillä oli just **tollaset** *Kultaissessa lohikäärmeessä*. Oletko nähnyt sen?"

Pudistin pääätäni, samalla puhalsin savua suustani.

”Hyvä pätäkä, samoin *Kultainen lohikäärme iskee jälleen*. Juma, mäkin haluan tuollaiset housut.”

”Ne ovat viileät”, sanoin, sitten huomasin, että hän ymmärsi eri tavalla kuin oli tarkoittanut.

”Jep, ne on **viileet**. Joku kerta mäkin käväisen ulkomailla.” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 158)

[“Those pants are the business, man! Lucky Chan had a pair like those in *Golden Dragon*. Have you seen it?”

I shook my head, at the same time I blew smoke out of my mouth.

“Good flick, same as *Golden Dragon Strikes Again*. Damn, I want pants like that, too.”

“They are cool”, I said, then I noticed that he understood it differently from what I had intended.

“Yup, they’re cool. Someday I’ll go abroad, too.”]

In this passage we have an example of the omission of /i/ from a diphthong (‘like that’ *tuollaiset* → *tollaset*) and of the monophthongisation of a vowel sequence ending in /a/ (‘cool’ *viileät* → *viileet*). In the former, we can also see the shortening of another type of diphthong (/uo/ → /o/), which is not a feature listed by Mantila or Tiittula and Nuolijärvi. Overall, Aaltonen uses phonological features very sparingly. The omission of /i/ from diphthongs and the monophthongisation of vowel sequences appear to be the only features used repeatedly in this translation.

Out of the six translations, the widest variety of phonological features of Finnish spoken language can be found in Kinnunen’s translation of Levy’s *Song*. Her translation is the only one where all of the eight unmarked phonological features listed at the beginning of this section can be found. As many as six of them can be seen in the following passage, in which Miss Rose is trying to console Kitty after her daughter has been taken away from her to work for the mistress of the plantation:

‘No look so downcast, for your pickney will do her pee-pee ’pon a throne,’ Miss Rose trilled to Kitty when she had returned to her hut without July. ‘In the great house them have chair made of fine wood and them sit ’pon it – straight back and all – and them let them doings drop. And it tinkle like rain ’pon a calabash as it splash into a bowl. And when all is done them close a wooden lid ’pon the waste – so there be no odour to foul up them day. [...] Is merriment you mus’ be feel. Miss July at the great house! Come, she will get shoe!’ (*Song* [2010] 2011, 48)

”Mitä sää **murehit**, nythän sun penska pääsee pissaamaan **oikeen** valtaistuimelle”, Rose-neiti oli lirkuttanut Kittyille, kun tämä oli palannut majaansa ilman July-tyttöä. **Siel** isossa talossa **niillon oikeen semmone** tuoli, jonka päälle ne istuu selkä suorana ja antaa jätöstensä **tippuu** alas. Kun niitten pissa ropisee isoon kulhoon, se kuulostaa ihan **niinku** sade **löis** kalebassiin. **Sitku** ne on tehneet tarpeensa, ne vaan panee kannen kiinni eikä sieltä tuu yhtään löyhkää pilaamaan niiden päivää. [...] Sun pitää kuule olla **ilonen**. July-neiti on isossa talossa! **Aattele**, se saa siellä **kengätki**!” (*Song FI* 2014, 46)

[“What are you fretting about, now your child will get to pee on a real throne”, Miss Rose had trilled to Kitty, when she had returned to her hut without the girl July. “In the great house they have a chair that you sit on with a straight back and you let your droppings drop down. When their pee tinkles in the big bowl, it sounds just like rain hitting a calabash. Then when they are done, they just close the lid and there’ll be no stench to spoil their day. [...] You should be glad, you know. Miss July is in the great house! Think, it [she] will even get shoes!”]

In this passage, we can see omission of word-final vowels (‘there’ *siellä* → *siel*; ‘would hit’ *löisi* → *löis*), omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/ (‘like that’ *semmoinen* → *semmone*; ‘happy’ *iloinen* → *ilonen*), substitution of vowel sequences ending in /a/ with a monophthong (‘fall’ *tippua* → *tippuu*), omission of the weak grade of /t/ (‘worry’ *murehdit* → *murehit*), omission of word-final /n/ (‘like that’ *semmoinen* → *semmone*; ‘shoes, too’ *kengätkin* → *kengätki*), and word border assimilation (‘they have’ *niillä on* → *niillon*; ‘kind of like’ *niin kuin* → *niinku*; ‘when’ *sitten kun* → *sitku*). There are also some features that were not listed by Mantila but which I do not consider particularly marked, such as the monophthongisation of *oikein* → *oikeen*, and the omission of /j/ from *ajattele* → *aattele*.

Kinnunen uses phonological features to differentiate between dialogue and narration in her translation. As was mentioned before, Levy does not differentiate between the language of narration and the language of dialogue as strictly as some of the other authors do. This means that elements of spoken language are also found in narration, albeit to a lesser degree than in dialogue. Here, the clearest difference is that whereas both phonological and morphosyntactic features are used in dialogue, the spoken elements found in narration are mostly produced through lexical means. This can be seen, for example, in the following passage, in which July recounts the reactions of the slaves to the arrival of a new overseer:

Peggy did chat upon Mary Ellis that the last overseer, John Lord, was a good bakkra and how all the pickney did follow him to stare up his nose hole, for so

much hair did sprout from it. Mary, straining her neck to get a little look at this new overseer said, ‘But him not a tall man. With no hat ’pon him head or barrel under him, he be lost in crab-grass.’ (*Song* [2010] 2011, 219)

Peggy juoruili Mary Ellisin kanssa edellisestä valttarista, John Lordista, ja miten tämä oli ollut hyvä *bakkra* ja miten kaikki mukulat olivat juosseet miehen perässä voidakseen tuijottaa hänen nokkareikiinsä, kun niistä tursusi niin paljon karvoja. Mary kurkotti päätänsä nähdäkseen vilauksen uudesta valttarista ja totesi: ”Lyhyenlanta on tää mies. Jos sillei **ois** hattua päässään tai tynnöriä allaan, niin eihän sitä edes **erottais** rikkaruohojen seasta.” (*Song FI* 2014, 196)

[Peggy gossiped with Mary Ellis about the previous overseer, John Lord, and how he had been a good *bakkra* and how all the kids had run after the man to stare at his nose holes, because such a lot of hair sprouted from them. Mary strained her neck to see a glimpse of the new overseer and said: “A shortish man, this one. If he didn’t have a hat on his head or a barrel under him, you wouldn’t even be able to make him out from the weeds.”]

In the first part of this passage, which is July’s narration, there are no phonological features used in the translation. In the second part, which is Mary Ellis’s dialogue, we can see two instances of the omission of a word-final vowel (‘were’ *olisi* → *ois*; ‘tell apart’ *erottaisi* → *erottais*). In the first instance, the word is also otherwise shortened, as the /l/ has also been omitted. Phonological features are also used when narration switches to reported speech, as in the following passage:

Samuel Lewis hissed on her to hush so him could hear. Him made plenty money from his fishing and grounds. Him was a man of trade now and must come to some likkle arrangement with the *bakkra* so him may stay near the river. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 220)

Samuel Lewis sihautti Elizabethia vaikenemaan, jotta kuulisi jotakin. Hää **ansaitti** paljon rahaa **ku** hää kalasti ja viljeli. Hää oli **ny** oikein kauppias ja hää **halus tehdä** kontrahdin *bakkran* kanssa, jotta hää **sais** jäädä joen lähelle hommiin. (*Song FI* 2014, 197)

[Samuel Lewis hissed for Elizabeth to become silent so that he could hear something. He earned a lot of money when he fished and farmed. He was a real trader now and he wanted to make a contract with the *bakkra* so that he would be allowed to stay near the river to work.]

Here, again, no phonological features are used in the part of the translation that is July's narration, but when the text switches to reported speech, where the speaker is Samuel Lewis, we can see two instances of the omission of a word-final vowel ('wanted' *halusi* → *halus*; 'were allowed to' *saisi* → *sais*), one instance of the substitution of /ts/ with /tt/ ('earned' *ansaitsi* → *ansaitti*), one instance of the omission of word-final /n/ ('when' *kun* → *ku*), and one instance of the omission of the weak grade of /t/ ('make' *tehdä* → *tehä*). The shortened form of 'now' (*nyt* → *ny*) is somewhat marked and mostly associated with the dialects of Southwest Finland.

To sum up, it can be seen from the above examples that phonological features associated with Finnish spoken language do appear in the translations. Table 1 below illustrates the range of unmarked phonological features found in the translations:

Phonological features	<i>Sargasso</i> (1968)	<i>Masseur</i> (1978)	<i>House</i> (1984)	<i>Folktales</i> (2000)	<i>Carnival</i> (2005)	<i>Song</i> (2014)
omission of word-final vowel	-	x	-	x	-	x
omission of /i/ from diphthongs	-	x	x	x	x	x
omission of word-final /n/	-	-	-	-	-	x
omission of word-final /t/	-	-	-	-	-	x
word boundary assimilation	-	-	x	x	-	x
monophthongisation	-	x	x	-	x	x
substitution of /ts/ with /tt/	-	-	-	-	-	x
omission of weak grade of /t/	-	-	-	-	-	x

Table 1. Unmarked phonological features of Finnish spoken language found in the translations

The first five features shown in this table are features that were considered unmarked by Mantila or Tiittula and Nuolijärvi, whereas the bottom three are features that Mantila has described as being in the process of becoming unmarked. In the earliest of the translations, namely Siikarla's translation of Rhys's *Sargasso*, no phonological features are used. In contrast, in the most recent of the translations, which is Kinnunen's translation of Levy's *Song*, all of the eight unmarked phonological features discussed above can be found. The rest of the translations comprise a middle ground; the other four translations use varying combinations of four different unmarked phonological features, namely the omission of word-final vowels, the omission of /i/ from diphthongs ending in /i/, word boundary assimilation, and the substitution of vowel sequences ending in /a/ with a monophthong. The second of these features – the omission of /i/ from diphthongs – appears to be the most common of the features, as it appears in five out of six translations. The table could be argued to show a trend of increasing use of

phonological features in the translations – as the earliest one has none and the most recent has the most – but a more extensive study would perhaps be in order before such conclusions can truly be drawn.

In addition to the unmarked features listed above, some more marked features also appear in three of the translations, namely Lopenen's translation of Naipaul's *Masseur*, Sumari's translation of Antoni's *Folktales*, and Kinnunen's translation of Levy's *Song*. Kinnunen's use of marked phonological features is quite sparing; the two other translations here use marked phonological features more prominently. The two translators have used phonological features that tend to be associated with Eastern Finnish dialects. However, the use of the marked features is still rather marginal in both texts, and the majority of the phonological features used can be categorised as unmarked.

In the two Naipaul translations by Lopenen, the translation of *Masseur* contains significantly more phonological features, both marked and unmarked, than the translation of *House*. This would seem to suggest that, rather than solely a manifestation of a translator's personal style, the style of the source texts also plays a part in the selection of translation strategies. Naipaul uses spoken language much more prominently in *Masseur* than he does in *House*, and thus Lopenen's use of spoken language features in the translation is correspondingly more varied. A similar distinction can be seen in the two Antoni translations. However, as they were not translated by the same person, similar conclusions as to the significance of the translator's personal style cannot be drawn.

5.2.2 Morphosyntax

As with the phonological features discussed in the previous section, the Finnish language also has a variety of morphosyntactic features that can be considered sufficiently unmarked not to be connected to any particular regional or social dialect. Mantila (2004, 325–326) mentions using the passive form of verbs instead of first-person plural forms and the singular form instead of third-person plural as unmarked morphosyntactic features, while Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013, 41) also add the omission of the possessive suffix to the list. As was seen from the examples in subsection 5.1.2, many of the tools used by Caribbean authors to depict spoken language in their novels were in one way or another connected to verbs. This is also true of the Finnish translations, but as the language changes, so do the techniques used for portraying spoken language. In this section, some of the most commonly

used morphosyntactic features in portraying spoken language in the Finnish translations are discussed.

In the translation of *Sargasso*, the illusion of spoken language is mainly achieved through morphosyntactic and lexical means, as can be seen, for example, from the following passage, where Antoinette talks to Christophine about her husband, and Christophine advises Antoinette to leave him:

She looked gloomy. ‘When man don’t love you, more you try, more he hate you, man like that. If you love them they treat you bad, if you don’t love them they after you night and day bothering your soul case out. I hear about you and your husband,’ she said.

‘But I cannot go. He is my husband after all.’ (*Sargasso* [1966] 2000, 90–91)

Hän näytti synkältä. – Kun mies ei rakasta sinua, mitä enemmän yrität, sitä enemmän se vihaa sinua, mies on sellainen. Jos rakastat niitä, **ne kohtelee** sinua pahoin, jos et rakasta, **ne on** kintereillä yötä päivää, **kiusaa** sinut hengiltä. Olen kuullut sinusta ja **sinun aviomiehestä**, hän sanoi.

– Mutta en voi lähteä. Hän on kuitenkin aviomieheni. (*Sargasso FI* 1968, 115)

[She looked gloomy. – When man doesn’t love you, the more you try, the more it hates you, man is like that. If you love them, they treats you badly, if you don’t love, they is after you night and day, bullying you to death. I have heard about you and your husband, she said.

– But I can’t leave. He is my husband after all.]

In the translation, we can see differentiation between the speech of Christophine and that of Antoinette in that Antoinette uses Standard Finnish whereas Christophine’s speech contains various features associated with spoken Finnish. The contrast comes across most clearly in the use of the word husband. In Christophine’s speech, the possessive suffix -si normally expected of Standard Finnish is omitted, and thus what in Standard Finnish would be *sinun aviomiehestäsi* (about your husband) becomes *sinun aviomiehestä*. The meaning comes across without the possessive suffix, but grammatically it is required in Finnish, and standard language would drop the personal pronoun rather than the suffix as redundant. This is what happens in Antoinette’s standard language dialogue with the word *aviomieheni* (my husband), which contains the possessive suffix -ni but omits the personal pronoun.

In addition to the omission of the possessive suffix, Christophine’s speech in this passage contains also other morphosyntactic features associated with spoken language. Incongruent verb forms, such as the use of the singular form instead of third-person plural, appear in several places (e.g. *kohtelee*, *kiusaa*). Additionally,

there are several occurrences of personal pronouns being substituted with demonstrative pronouns. This aspect of spoken language will be addressed in more detail in subsection 5.2.3. Overall, the sentence structure follows the structure of the original text very closely, almost word for word. This has the effect of making the language appear as if the speaker was a non-native speaker of Finnish, as there is a lot of structural interference from the English source text. This relates to the previously mentioned concept of ‘native talk’, in which the purpose is to make a character appear as though they are a non-native speaker of the language they are using. Siikarla’s strategy of portraying spoken language thus relates more to mirroring the syntax of the source text than using specific morphosyntactic features commonly associated with Finnish spoken language.

In the translation of *Carnival*, similar ‘native talk’ is used to differentiate between the spoken language of native and non-native speaker characters. Rachel’s Spanish husband Javier, or Javi, is described as speaking “broken English he was endearingly shy about” (*Carnival* 2005, 50). In the translation, this “broken English” is rendered as spoken Finnish that looks like the speech of a non-native speaker of Finnish:

“Raquel says she’s had enough. She says she’s drunk. I tell her she’s beautiful when she’s drunk. I tell her she’s the most beautiful drunk I ever been on a honeymoon with. I tell her she’s the most beautiful drunk in the whole New York. But she says she’s had enough.” (*Carnival* 2005, 52)

”Raquel sanoo hän saanut tarpeeksi. Väittää että humalassa. Sanon hänelle, että hän kaunis humalassa. Sanon hän kaunein humalainen, jonka kanssa olen viettänyt kuherruskuukausi. Sanon hän kaunein humalainen koko New Yorkissa. Mutta hän sanoo, että hän saanut tarpeeksi.” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 71)

[Raquel says she had enough. Claims that drunk. I say to her that she beautiful drunk. I say she the most beautiful drunk with whom I have spent honeymoon. I say she the most beautiful drunk in all New York. But she says that she had enough.]

The impression of non-nativeness is here achieved by using ungrammatical structures such as missing verbs (‘she is beautiful’ *hän on kaunis* → ‘she beautiful’ *hän kaunis*), missing conjunctions (‘Raquel says that she’ *Raquel sanoo, että hän* → ‘Raquel says she’ *Raquel sanoo hän*), and the use of nouns in their base form instead of inflected forms where inflections would be expected (‘honeymoon’ *kuherruskuukautta* → *kuherruskuukausi*). When this passage is compared to another part of the same novel, for example the conversation between the protagonist

William and his acquaintance Ganish, quite a striking difference can be seen. In the following passage, Ganish is recounting a rumour that had circulated about William on his home island when he first moved to New York to study on a scholarship:

“Boy, the story go round here was how you did paint yourself black! With shoepolish. And people say how you put on a heavy West Indian accent for them Yankees, and the blasted fools fall for it. Only a island boy could tink up a scheme good as that, eh? Only a scoundrel like we!” (*Carnival* 2005, 77)

”Äijä, täällä liikkui juttua, että sä värjäsit naamasi mustaksi! Kenkälankilla. Ja ihmiset väitti, että sä puhuit jenkeille paksulla karibianaksentilla, ja se meni täydestä niille pölhöille. Kukaan muu kuin Trinidadin poika ei voisi keksiä yhtä hyvää juonta, vai mitä? Ollaan me sellaisia lurjuksia!” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 104)

[“Dude, there was a story going around here that you dyed your face black! With shoepolish. And people claimed that you spoke to the Yankees in a thick Caribbean accent, and the fools fell for it. No one else than a Trinidad boy could come up with a scheme as good as that, or what? We are such scoundrels!”]

The language used to portray Ganish’s speech is idiomatic Finnish spoken language, which makes the character appear like a native speaker of the language he is speaking. There is thus a clear differentiation between characters speaking spoken language that is intended as a representation of Trinidadian Creole and characters speaking a language of which they are not native speakers. This can be considered an indication of the previously mentioned trend towards increasing fluency in the representation of Creole-speakers in the Finnish translations, as Creole-speakers are no longer portrayed as non-native speakers.

A similar distinction between native and non-native language is utilised by Loponen in his translation of *House*, although the differentiation is not quite as significant as in Aaltonen’s translation. Instead of ‘native talk’, Naipaul utilises what has been termed *foreigner talk*, meaning a simplified variety of language used by a native speaker for the purpose of speaking to a non-native speaker. ‘Foreigner talk’ is seen for example in the passage already seen in subsection 5.1.1, where Mr Biswas’s teacher uses ‘broken English’ to speak to him: “‘How you people want to get on, eh?’ [...] ‘Tomorrow I want you to bring your buth certificate. You hear?’” (*House* [1961] 2000, 41–42). In the translation, Loponen uses ‘foreigner talk’ to portray Lal’s speech: ”’Millä te ihmiset oikein **meinaa** pärjätä, häh?’ [...] ”Huomenna tuot **syntymätodistus**. Onko selvä?’” (*House FI* 1984, 46) [“How you people are going to get on, eh?” ... “Tomorrow you bring birth certificate. Is that clear?”]. Loponen has used an incongruent verb form, (*meinaatte* → *meinaa*) and a

noun in its base form (*syntymätodistuksen* → *syntymätodistus*) as indications of ‘foreigner talk’. Instead of the phonological features employed by Naipaul in the source text, then, Loponen has achieved the same result in the translation using morphosyntactic features.

In the representation of Trinidadian Creole in spoken Finnish, Loponen mainly utilises unmarked morphosyntactic features of Finnish. All of the unmarked features listed at the beginning of this section can be found in both of Loponen’s translations. Although omissions of the possessive suffix do also occur – such as in “Se on minun ainoa **pahe**” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 15) [It is my only vice] (‘vice’ *paheeni* → *pahe*) and in “Minun **naama**” (*House* [1961] 2000, 171) [My face] (‘face’ *naamani* → *naama*) – different spoken language varieties of verbs are significantly more common. In addition to using the passive form of verbs instead of first-person plural forms and the singular form instead of third-person plural, which are the two features mentioned by Mantila as unmarked, Loponen uses various kinds of shortened verb forms. These will be discussed further in subsection 5.2.3.

In the three newer translations, the same unmarked morphosyntactic features are also used extensively. In her translation of *Folktales*, Sumari uses the two unmarked features mentioned by Mantila quite consistently. Substitution of a first-person plural form with a passive form can be seen for example in the beginning of the novel, where Grandmother Domingo is describing the farm she used to own:

We used to have the little house there, and when Barto was still alive we would go for excursions on weekends, and pack up the children and drive to this estate that was only twenty-five miles away, but in those days it was two, three hours driving in a motorcar from St Maggy where we were living. (*Folktales* 2000, 4)

Meillä oli siellä pieni talo, ja kun Barto oli vielä elossa **me tehtiin** viikonloppuisin retkiä sinne, **pakattiin** kakarat autoon ja **ajettiin** tilalle, sinne oli vain 40 kilometriä, mutta niihin aikoihin kesti pari-kolme tuntia ajaa sinne autolla St. Maggystä, missä **me asuttiin**. (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 8)

[We had a small house there, and when Barto was still alive, we used to make trips there during the weekends, packed the kids in the car and drove to the farm, it was only 40 kilometres away, but back then it took two or three hours to drive there by car from St. Maggy where we lived.]

Omissions of the possessive suffix seem to be found primarily in dialogue instead of narration, such as in the following passage, where the washerwoman Blanchisseuse is asking a girl, Moyén, to guess her name in order to be allowed to eat: “Sä olet *laihtunut*, Moyén! No, sano mikä **mun nimi** on?” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 71)

[You have *lost weight*, Moyen! Well, say what my name is?] ('my name' *minun nimeni* → *mun nimi*).

Aaltonen, in his translation of Antoni's *Carnival*, uses a somewhat more restricted range of morphosyntactic features than the other translators discussed above. The three unmarked features listed at the beginning of this subsection are also used in this text, but their use is mostly restricted to characters living in Trinidad, that is to say speakers of Trinidadian Creole, whereas the characters speaking American English – or a mixture of American English and Trinidadian Creole – have been translated using morphosyntactically standard Finnish. This can be seen for example in the conversation between William and Ganish, where possessive suffixes are omitted from Ganish's speech but not from William's:

Ganish steupsed, "But I hear it give you a helloffa time, when the polish couldn't scrub out. Not true? Boy, I did tell meself that if in America they does hand out money to people only for being black, then I could carry me rass in America too. And I ain't even bound to shoepolish meself!"

"It was a confusion with the application."

"Oh-ho."

"Wasn't any shoepolish!" (*Carnival* 2005, 77)

Ganish pärskähti: "Mutta mä kuulin, että sulle tuli helvetinmoiset oltavat, kun se lankki ei lähtenyt **sun naamasta**. Eikö vaan? Äijä, mä mietin, että jos Ameriikassa annetaan rahaa ihan vaan siitä hyvästä, että on musta, niin mäkin vois hylätä ahterini Ameriikkaan. Eikä mun tarvitsisi edes lankata **mun naamaa**!"

"Hakuprosessissa sattui jokin sekaannus."

"Ohhoh."

"En minä mitään kenkälankkia **naamaani** laittanut!" (*Carnival FI* 2005, 104–105)

[Ganish laughed: "But I heard you got into trouble like hell when the polish didn't come off your face. Right? Dude, I'm thinking that if they give away money in America just because you're black, I might haul my ass to America myself. And I wouldn't even need to put shoepolish on my face!"

"There was a mix-up with the application process."

"Ohhoh."

"I didn't put any shoe polish on my face!"]

A similar distinction between Trinidadian and American characters can be seen in the use of non-standard verb forms in a passage where local policemen confront the

group of friends at a secluded beach. In the policeman's speech, first-person plural forms have been replaced with passive forms, whereas Rachel uses standard forms:

He smiled. "We just looking out for trouble before it happens, you unnastand? Just acting in the public interest. Doing we job. All-you in the bush now. Long way from help if anything happen."

"Thank you for your concern," Rachel said calmly. "We can take care of ourselves." (*Carnival* 2005, 230)

Mies hymiyli: "Me vaan **yritetään** estää selkkaukset, tajuatteko? **Me toimitaan** yleisen edun nimissä. **Hoidetaan** hommamme. Te olette nyt erämaassa. Pitkä matka etsiä apua, jos jotain sattuu."

"Kiitos huolenpidosta", sanoi Rachel rauhallisesti. "Me **kykenemme** pitämään huolen itsestämme." (*Carnival FI* 2005, 297)

[The man smiled: "We're only trying to prevent altercations, do you see? We are acting for the common good. Doing our job. You are in wilderness now. A long way to go looking for help if something happens."

"Thank you for your concern", said Rachel calmly. "We can take care of ourselves."]

Just as was the case with the phonological features of Finnish spoken language, morphosyntactic features commonly associated with spoken language are in Aaltonen's translation used specifically for the representation of Trinidadian Creole. For other types of spoken language, Aaltonen has used Standard Finnish, and differentiation from narration is mainly achieved with the use of colloquialisms and other lexical choices.

Kinnunen's translation of *Song* makes extensive use of morphosyntactic features of spoken language. In the following example, where one of the slaves is giving an account of the rumours spreading on the island about unrest in some of the plantations, there are multiple instances of the use of singular forms instead of third-person plural forms:

'Three white men come looking for the negro them call the Colonel – him the leader of this band that torched the trash house up at Providence plantation – the flames licking till all that remained was the jagged, scorched stones that did appear like a black-tooth grin within this breach. In upon the carpenter's shop they come – looking here, looking there. But them no see five negroes hiding from them. (*Song* [2010] 2011, 110)

“Kolme valkosta miestä tuli siis etsiin jotain neekeriä. Ne **sanoo** sitä Everstiksi – se on niinku pomo siinä porukassa, joka oli sytyttäny tuleen Providencen plantaasin puristusjätevaraston. Liekit **oli syöny** kaiken ja **jättäny** pystyyn vaan rupisia kiviä, jotka **näytti** niinku mustat hampaat **ois irvistelly**. Nää miehet **työntää** ittesä puusepän työpajaan ja **katsoo** sinne ja **katsoo** tänne. Mutta ne **ei huomaa** niitä viittä neekeriä, **jotkon** siellä piilossa.” (*Song FI* 2014, 99)

[“Three white men came looking for some negro. They call him the Colonel – he’s like the boss in the mob that had set fire to the trash house on the Providence plantation. The flames had eaten everything and left only scabbed stones that looked like black teeth grinning. These men push themselves into the carpenter’s workshop and look here and look there. But they don’t see the five negroes that are hiding there.”]

Kinnunen also makes extensive use of shortened verb forms, which will be discussed further in subsection 5.2.3.

In addition to the above-mentioned morphosyntactic features that Mantila and Tiittula and Nuolijärvi have identified as unmarked, one more feature in particular can be identified in many of the translations, namely the clitic -s. Hakulinen et al. (2010, 791) describe the clitic -s as particles that are affixed to a phrase at the beginning of an utterance. The clitic -s in Finnish is mostly connected to directive and interrogative phrases, and although its use is not restricted to spoken language, it is dialogic in nature, which makes its use in a spoken language setting highly natural. The clitic -s can be used to provide a sense of familiarity, and thus a phrase containing the clitic often sounds more colloquial than the equivalent phrase without it. This is especially true when it is combined with another clitic, -pa/-pä. In four out of six of the translations using spoken language, the clitic -s is used frequently. Most commonly it is found in Loponen’s translations of Naipaul’s novels, for example in the phrases “**Annas** kun tuumin” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 15) [Let me think] and “**Entäs** nämä pojat tässä” (*House FI* 1984, 118) [What about these boys here]. Sumari also uses the clitic in her translation – “Yhdeksänkymmentäkuusi vuotta, **mitäs** siitä sanot?” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 9) [Ninety-six years, what do you say to that?] – as does Kinnunen in hers – “**Nuuhkases** ny hiukkasen, niin helpottaa” (*Song* [2010] 2011, 18) [Sniff a little, it will help]. Aaltonen’s translation does also contain these clitics, but he uses them significantly less frequently than the three translators mentioned above.

In subsection 5.1.2, the distinction between repetition (at the level of discourse) and reduplication (at the level of word formation) was discussed. Reduplication is a feature commonly attributed to many creole languages, whereas repetition is a common element attributed to both Creole languages and the representation of

spoken English at a more general level. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2016, 6) have also mentioned repetitions as one of the features used for the representation of Finnish spoken language in literature. Nevertheless, the avoidance of repetition has been noted to be a common feature of translations regardless of language pair. Ben-Ari (1998, 2) has even called this a “universal of translation” due to its pervasiveness. A significant point that must be noted about the Finnish translations is that, although reduction of repetition can be seen in many of the translations, repetition at the level of discourse is maintained at a significantly higher frequency than reduplication, which is not as common a feature in Finnish as it is in the creole languages portrayed in the source texts. For example, in the translation of the previously mentioned item of reduplication from *Masseur*, “crazy crazy” (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 27) is translated into Finnish as “pähkähullu” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 40) [completely crazy].

There are, however, exceptions. In her translation of *Folktales*, Sumari has even added reduplication to a passage where it does not exist in the source text in order to compensate for omissions elsewhere. This was seen in the previously mentioned passage where the King of Chacachacari is performing a ritual dance: “kumarrettuaan viidesti ja tanssittuaan vähäsen **ympäri ympäri** niin kuin joku voodoopoppaukko” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 33) [after bowing five times and dancing a little around around like some kind of a voodoo shaman]. As reduplication is significantly less common in Finnish than it is in creole languages, maintaining all occurrences of reduplication might have the effect of making it a more marked feature than it would appear to be in the source texts. Strategic omissions of some reduplications can thus help maintain a sense of balance in the Finnish translation, where excessive use of both reduplication and repetition can make the text seem cumbersome.

A summary of the different morphosyntactic features commonly attributed to Finnish spoken language and their use in the translations can be seen in Table 2 below:

Morphosyntactic features	<i>Sargasso</i> (1968)	<i>Masseur</i> (1978)	<i>House</i> (1984)	<i>Folktales</i> (2000)	<i>Carnival</i> (2005)	<i>Song</i> (2014)
1st person plural → passive	-	x	x	x	x	x
3rd person plural → singular	x	x	x	x	x	x
omission of possessive suffix	x	x	x	x	x	x
clitic -s	-	x	x	x	(-)	x

Table 2. Unmarked morphosyntactic features of Finnish spoken language found in the translations

Compared to the phonological features discussed in the previous subsection, the use of unmarked morphosyntactic features in the translations appears to be significantly

more uniform. All four features discussed in this subsection can be found in four out of six translations, Siikarla and Aaltonen being the more conservative users. In the case of the phonological features, some increase in their use could be seen over time, whereas the morphosyntactic features seem to be in use throughout the time period examined in this dissertation. Another significant point to be made is that none of the translators have made significant use of morphosyntactic features that could be considered to be regionally or socially marked.

5.2.3 Lexicon

This subsection focuses on features of spoken language in the Finnish translations that are associated with the lexical level. Previous studies have shown a tendency for translated fiction to favour the lexical level in the depiction of spoken language varieties (see e.g. Nevalainen 2003; Schwitalla and Tiittula 2009). This does also seem to be the case in the translations discussed in this dissertation. The lexical level certainly seems to be the level of language where the most variety can be seen in the tools used. Unlike the primary unmarked phonological and morphosyntactic features discussed in the previous sections, lexical features cannot be reduced as easily to a specific selection of features. The discussion in this subsection thus proceeds at a somewhat more general level.

One of the most prominent groups of words in terms of the representation of Finnish spoken language is colloquial forms of personal pronouns. The spoken language forms of personal pronouns vary quite significantly between different regional dialects, and most are considered marked in that they are closely anchored to their regionality (see e.g. Mantila 2004). Some forms have, however, become unmarked in recent decades, namely the most commonly used variants of southern Finland, which have begun their spread from the metropolitan area. In spoken Finnish, instead of the standard forms for the first-person singular pronoun *minä* and the second-person singular pronoun *sinä*, the shorter forms *mä* and *sä* are commonly used. Mantila (ibid, 326) lists these shortened forms under unmarked features of Finnish spoken language, although he does so with some reservation. As they are found in various parts of the country, they can be used to provide the feel of spoken language without tying the text to a specific regional variety. Other possible dialectal forms are, for example, *mää* and *sää*, or *mie* and *sie*, the latter of which are typical in Eastern Finnish dialects. The former are mostly found in southwestern dialects, but these have also started to spread to other regions. As the first and second-person

plural pronouns are already very short in their standard forms, *me* and *te*, these are typically not changed. In eastern dialects, the forms *myö* and *työ* are also used.

Another feature that has become sufficiently widely spread – and which is also listed by Mantila (ibid.) as an unmarked feature – is the substitution of third-person pronouns with corresponding demonstrative pronouns. The singular personal pronoun *hän* and the plural personal pronoun *he* are commonly substituted with demonstrative pronouns *se* and *ne*, respectively. This, too, is a characteristic of various Finnish dialects, and cannot be tied to any one regional variant. Some marked regional variants can also be found. For example, south-eastern dialects use the variant *hää* for the third-person singular pronoun and *hyö* for plural.

Changes in personal pronouns have been used in all of the Finnish translations of the six novels under discussion. There is, however, some variation in the degree and style in which the different methods have been used in each translation. This variation can, at least in part, be attributed to changes over time in the way spoken language is used in Finnish translations. The clearest differences can be seen in the translations of first and second-person singular pronouns. In the older translations by Loponen and Siikarla, standard pronouns are used even in dialogue. Even though the use of the shortened *mä* and *sä* forms was already common in spoken language, their use in literary language was not yet established. In contrast, all three of the newer translations use colloquial forms of first and second-person singular pronouns. Kinnunen's translation differs here from the other newer translations in that, instead of the less marked forms *mä* and *sä* used by the other two translators, she has opted for the more marked long forms *mää* and *sää*. Although Loponen does not use the shortened forms of first-person pronouns, he does, however, occasionally use non-standard variants in the inflected forms of plural pronouns, such as in the phrase “Ette arvaa mikä viuhka **teitille** kävi” (*Masseur FI* 1978, 25) [You don't know how lucky you were]. These non-standard inflected forms of plural pronouns are a marked feature of the dialects of the Häme region.

The substitution of third-person pronouns with demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, is used in all six translations. In some texts, other methods have been used alongside this substitution. For example, in the translation of *Song*, Kinnunen has distinguished between different registers in the text by alternating between using the demonstrative pronoun *se* and the non-standard personal pronoun *hää* based on addressee. In the following passage, the conversation is held between two slaves. July's mother, miss Kitty, is being told by miss Rose not to worry about her daughter being taken away from her, because she will be treated better working as a house slave rather than a field slave: “Is merriment you mus' be feel. Miss July at the great house! Come, she will get shoe!” (*Song* [2010] 2011, 48). Here Kinnunen has translated ‘she’ with a demonstrative pronoun: “Sun pitää kuule olla iloinen. July-neiti on isossa talossa! Aattele, **se** saa siellä kengätki!” (*Song FI* 2014, 46) [You must

you hear be glad. Miss July is in the big house! Think, it will even get shoes there!]. In contrast, in the following passage, miss Kitty is addressing the master of the house, attempting to prevent him from taking July: “Kitty, letting go of her child, just said, ‘But she go Unity Pen, massa. We have pass.’” (*Song* [2010] 2011, 45). In the translation, instead of a demonstrative pronoun, Kinnunen has used the personal pronoun *hää*: “Kitty päästi irti tyttärestään ja sanoi hiljaa: ”Mutta **hää** on menos Unity Peniin, *massa*. Meillon tää lupa”” (*Song FI* 2014, 43). The personal pronoun instead of the demonstrative is used here as a marker of polite address.

The use of the different non-standard pronoun variants discussed here have been summarised in the following figure:

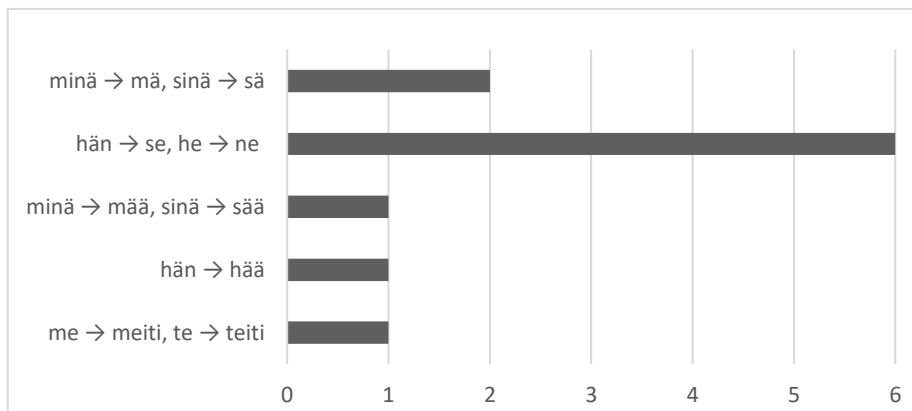


Figure 3. Non-standard personal pronouns in the Finnish translations

The substitution of third-person pronouns (*hän/he*) with demonstrative pronouns (*se/ne*) is clearly the most common feature, as it appears in all six translations. Correspondingly, this can be considered the least marked pronoun-related feature of Finnish spoken language. The second most common feature, then, is the use of the shortened forms of first and second-person singular pronouns. Although this can be considered an unmarked feature today, its use in literary texts has not been as unmarked as its use in spoken language in general, which can be seen in its absence from the older translations. Marked regional variants for pronouns appear in two of the translations, Kinnunen using the longer forms for singular pronouns in her translation of *Song*, and Lojonen using the marked inflected forms for plural pronouns in his translation of *Masseur*. Of these, the singular forms *mää* and *sää* are less marked than the other two. Excluding Lojonen’s use of marked inflected forms for plural pronouns, the other features listed here are used relatively consistently in the translations; that is to say, they appear throughout the works in which they are used rather than merely occasionally.

Another common feature of Finnish spoken language that can be observed in many of the translations is the use of shortened verb forms already alluded to in subsection 5.2.2. These fall under the category of allegro speech forms (for a detailed discussion, see e.g. Mielikäinen 2009), which also covers the aforementioned shortened forms of personal pronouns *mä(ä)* and *sä(ä)*. Allegro speech forms occasionally appear in other word classes as well, but verbs are the most prominent in the translations discussed here. Loponen uses the occasional shortened verb form in his translations of *House* and *Masseur*, but the most prominent use of shortened verb forms can be seen in Sumari's translation of *Folktales* and in Kinnunen's translation of *Song*. In Sumari's translation, the use of an allegro speech form can be seen, for example, in the sentence "Kymmenen mukulaa enkä mä **oo** vielä edes haudassa" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 9) [Ten kids and I'm not even in the grave yet], where the verb 'be' has been shortened from its standard form (*ole* → *oo*). In Kinnunen's translation, such a shortening (this time for the verb 'come') is visible in the sentence "Sitten mää **tuun** päästään teidät ulos" (*Song FI* 2014, 97) ["Then I'll come let you out"]. The standard form for the verb in this case would be *tulen*. The use of shortened forms in these instances reflect their common usage in Finnish spoken language, as such forms are generally used most commonly for frequently used verbs, such as the words 'be' and 'come' in these examples.

In subsection 5.1.3, discourse markers were identified as one of the prominent features in portraying spoken language in the source texts. Similar use of discourse markers can also be found in the translations, albeit to a somewhat lesser degree. Specifically Caribbean discourse markers, such as 'man' and 'cha' have mostly been replaced with domesticated alternatives or omitted altogether (translated as something other than a discourse marker). The latter has been the strategy most commonly employed by Loponen in his translations of Naipaul's works. This can be seen, for example, in *Masseur* when Ganesh's wife Leela is shouting to catch the attention of her husband: "She examined us for a while and then began shouting, 'Man! Eh, manwa!'" (*Masseur* [1957] 2001, 3). In addition to using a discourse marker connected with the Caribbean region, Naipaul has also included a link to the East Indian tradition with the addition of the Hindi suffix 'wa', which Zafir (2006, 183) explains to be "typical of regional dialects used in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh and the state of Bihar in India". In his translation, Loponen has omitted the discourse markers: "Hän silmäili meitä tovin ja alkoi sitten huhuilla: "Ganesh! Hei, **tule tänne!**"" (*Masseur FI* 1978, 13) [She examined us for a while and then began calling: "Ganesh! Hey, come here!"]. A similar omission can also be seen in the translation of the passage from *House* quoted in subsection 5.1.3, where Mr Biswas talks to his step-cousin Jagdat: "The old Mohun, **man**" (*House* [1961] 2000, 251) is translated simply as "Vanha kunnon Mohun" (*House FI* 1984, 269) [Good old Mohun].

In other works, translators have used Finnish alternatives to Caribbean discourse markers. For example, Sumari, in her translation of Antoni's *Folktales*, has chosen Finnish colloquialisms that have a similar meaning. This can be seen in the passage where Grandmother Domingo explains her nickname as originating from her shouting to the American soldiers "Skip it! Skip it, na **man**!" (*Folktales* 2000, 70). Sumari has translated this as "Anna olla! Hei, anna olla, **kundi**!" (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 79), the word *kundi* being a Finnish colloquialism for man. In her translation of *Song*, Kinnunen has used onomatopoetic translation in rendering 'cha' into Finnish. The word 'cha' appears in the source text, for example, in the following passage that was quoted in subsection 5.1.3: "Hannah had stopped listening, for the need to shout, 'And me to fix-up all this? You a gut-fatty, **cha**!' at her missus was becoming overpowering within her" (*Song* [2010] 2011, 75). In the translation, Kinnunen has created an onomatopoetic domestication that maintains the semantic meaning of the word while using sounds that are more at home in a Finnish text: "Hannah ei enää kuunnellut, sillä hän hädin tuskin kykeni pidättelemään huudahdustaan: "Jaa, että munko pitäis tää kaikki laittaa? Mokoma rasvapetus! **Tss!**"" (*Song FI* 2014, 68).

An exception to these domesticating strategies can be found in Aaltonen's translation of *Carnival*, where he has left the discourse marker 'man' untranslated in the mouth of a Trinidadian character. This can be seen in the previously quoted conversation between William and the Trinidadian man from whom he is buying marijuana: "Them pants the business, **man**! I see Lucky Chan wearing some pants just so in *Golden Dragon*. You catch it?" (*Carnival* 2005, 120). In the translation, Aaltonen has used colloquial Finnish but left the discourse marker untranslated: "Noi on asialliset pökät, **man**! Lucky Chanillä oli just tollaset *Kultaisessa lohikäärmeessä*. Oletko nähnyt sen?" (*Carnival FI* 2005, 158). In earlier translations a strategy like this would have appeared out of place, as the word 'man' as a discourse marker would not have been very familiar to Finnish readers. The readers of Aaltonen's translation, however, would probably have encountered it in American television shows and films, making it more understandable.

In many of the passages quoted above, the use of Finnish colloquialisms can be seen. The use of colloquial words and phrases is one of the primary means for portraying spoken language in the translations. The use of colloquialisms to distinguish between spoken language in dialogue and standard language in narration is one of the most prominent tools used by the translators. This also includes for example fixed phrases, such as the one appearing in the following passage from the translation of *Masseur*: "Muuhun siitä ei olekaan. Minä sille alvariinsa tolkutan ettei aina vaan lue ja lue. Mutta eihän se **ota onkeen**. Lukee vaan lukemistaan, yötä päivää." (*Masseur FI* 1978, 16) [That is all he can do. I keep telling him not to just read and read. But he won't listen. Just reads and reads, night and day]. The phrase

ottaa onkeen, which would loosely translate as ‘take the bait’, refers to someone listening (or in this case not listening) to advice they are given. The passage also contains the word *alvariinsa*, which is a colloquialism for ‘continuously’.

Colloquialisms were also seen in the previously quoted passage from Aaltonen’s translations of *Carnival*, where a Trinidadian woman frets over William’s bruised face: “”Aijaijai!” Mums parkui. ”Voi mun pientä! Miksi ne on menneet ruhjomaan tuon nätin **naamavärkin?**”” (*Carnival FI* 2005, 240) [“Ayeeee!” Mums cried. “Oh my little one! Why have they gone and bruised that pretty face?”. The word *naamavärkki* is a colloquialism for face. Similarly, in Sumari’s translation of *Folktales*, she uses such colloquial phrases as the previously mentioned *tiedätsä*, which is a Finnish equivalent for the English colloquialism ‘you know’: “Nevil oli kaunis lapsi, **tiedätsä**” (*Folktales FI* [2000] 2002, 23) [Nevil was a beautiful child, you know].

In the interview conducted with Sumari, she also mentions using plenty of Finnish expletives as translations of English ones and sometimes even adding them where there were none in the source text. She uses the kind of swearwords, particularly *vittu*, which would sound natural coming from an adolescent, in order to create the style of language where the grandmother is addressing a young audience and trying to ‘speak their language’ as it were. She also mentions utilising vocabulary associated with so-called *kyökkisuomi*, ‘kitchen Finnish’, which she has learnt from her own grandmother. *Kyökkisuomi* was a spoken variety of Finnish used in the late 19th and early 20th century “as an intermediate language between Finnish service staff and Swedish masters and employers” (Jarva 2008, 59), and consequently it was significantly influenced by Swedish.

6 Discussion

Heterolingualism in Caribbean literatures takes many forms. The variety of tools used for portraying different types of heterolingualism in literary texts is a representation of the heterogeneity of Caribbean language communities and provides a means for authors to express their cultural identity. Chapters 4 and 5 provided analysis and discussion on the various types of heterolingualism found in ten Anglophone Caribbean novels and their Finnish translations based on theoretical discussions presented in the early chapters of the dissertation. In section 4.1, the seven authors of the source texts were arranged based on their respective global strategies in the novels under discussion. None of the authors used primarily domesticating strategies, but most seemed to prefer a combination of strategies ranging from non-illusionistic domestication to explicatory foreignisation. Some authors tended to opt mostly for foreignising strategies. However, it can be argued that the selection criteria for the materials of this study already excludes the most domesticating strategies (as authors opting primarily for strategies of illusionistic domestication would likely not use code-switching in the first place) as well as the most estranging strategies (as these authors would perhaps write their works in ways which might not appeal to international audiences sufficiently for them to be chosen to be translated into a relatively restricted language like Finnish).

Among the authors using the most cushioning and domestication were Edwidge Danticat and Jean Rhys. The middle ground between domestication and foreignisation was held by the two Cuban authors, Himilce Novas and Cristina García, as well as Andrea Levy. Towards the foreignising end of the continuum we then find the two Trinidadian authors, V. S. Naipaul and Robert Antoni. For the most part, the Finnish translators follow the global strategies employed by the source text authors quite closely. Although there is variation in terms of local strategies for specific culture-bound translation challenges, the overall effect remains close to what was presumably intended by the author. An exception to this tendency are the two translators of Antoni's novels, Sumari and Aaltonen, whose strategies tend to be more domesticating compared to the heavily estranging strategies preferred by the author himself. This I argue to be connected to Antoni's tendency to blend languages in a way that can make it difficult to draw a distinction between them. Antoni's

choice not to use italics to distinguish interlingual code-switching within the English matrix language text has led to a significantly higher number of omissions of interlingual code-switching than in many of the other translations, especially those where interlingual code-switching has been italicised.

Another significant point to make here is that Antoni uses a wider range of word classes in his interlingual code-switching than the other authors, who mostly seem to limit their use of interlingual code-switching to nouns. As foreign language nouns tend to be easier to integrate into the Finnish language matrix than, for example, verbs or adjectives, they are also more likely to be maintained in translation. This tendency could also be seen in other translations, Tamminen's translation of Danticat's *Breath*, for example, where most Spanish and Haitian Creole nouns were maintained in the translation but verb phrases were often domesticated.

If leaving interlingual code-switching unitalicised causes these switches to be domesticated with a much higher likelihood than in the case of italicised code-switching, perhaps this is a phenomenon to which authors should be paying attention. I do not mean to argue that the authors of Caribbean literature should reintroduce the use of italics to separate interlingual code-switching from the matrix language text, but perhaps communication with the translators would lead to a more detailed understanding of the aims of specific kinds of language use in the novels. Based on the interviews conducted with the translators, there seems to be very little communication between authors and translators at the moment. Whether this is an issue that is specific to Finnish translators or a wider trend is a question on which more extensive studies would perhaps be in order.

The two Antoni translations also differ from the other Finnish translations in another significant way: of the translators, Sumari and Aaltonen are the two who have the strongest tendency to opt for linguistic innovation in addressing issues related to translating heterolingualism. This could be seen, for example, in their use of onomatopoeic translation and neologisms for translating interlingual code-switching. Whether this tendency can be seen as a reflection of the style of the author or that of the two translators (or a combination of both) cannot be ascertained based solely on this study. However, Sumari and Aaltonen do stand out from the group in that Sumari is in fact first and foremost an author rather than a translator, and Aaltonen has, in addition to his career as a literary translator, also published some of his own poetry. This would suggest that translators with a more artistic background tend to opt for strategies using linguistic innovation more readily.

Overall, Finnish translators of Caribbean fiction are quite sensitive to the cultural specificities and the linguistic particularities of their texts. There is variation in the translators' strategies for dealing with heterolingualism, as some have domesticated their text more than others. However, none of the translators have, for example, completely standardised spoken language. As was discussed in subsection 2.1.1,

preserving the distinction between languages or language varieties that Gumperz (1982, 64–66) has termed the ‘we code’ and the ‘they code’ in translation is significant in terms of the text’s cultural integrity. Although some of the nuances of the differing styles of speech of various characters may not be preserved in translation, all of the translators have clearly recognised the significance in preserving the distinction between standard and spoken language in their translations.

Domestication is mostly done for the sake of fluency, in order to make the Finnish text flow better – the omission of cultural references in the translations could thus be characterised more as an occasional side-effect rather than a conscious and deliberate strategy. Based on other studies, this is not something that should be taken for granted. For example, according to Waltraud Kolb (2011, 189), who has studied German translations of West-African novels, a 1983 retranslation of Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* was heavily domesticated, as any unfamiliar proverbs “were either replaced by German sayings or paraphrased” in order to “make it easier to read and understand for a German-speaking readership”. In a study on the Finnish translations of West-African novels, Anne-Marie Lindfors (2015, 176) notes an increasing tendency for domestication over time. However, as the oldest Finnish translations of West-African novels were rather heavily foreignising, this shift in global strategies could be seen to be from estranging foreignisation to explicatory foreignisation and non-illusionistic domestication rather than the illusionistic domestication reported by Kolb in the German translations. Differences in the translation practices and literary traditions of different target cultures thus also come into play; some target cultures may be more accepting towards estranging translation strategies than others.

The lack of extremely foreignising strategies – such as those containing no cushioning or ones containing excessive amounts of cushioning – can perhaps also be partly explained by the relatively small size of the Finnish literary marketplace. In previous chapters, several studies were mentioned where translations using a significant amount of paratextual materials (for example explicatory footnotes) were considered to be highly academic in nature. In fact, Appiah (1993, 817) encourages translators in the use of such an academic style of translation, which would be particularly suitable for teaching purposes. However, due to the small size of the Finnish literary marketplace, producing literary translations for such restricted audiences would probably not be considered financially viable by most publishing houses. Perhaps for this reason, most literary translations are produced with a wider audience in mind. This notion is also supported by the conclusions that Lindfors (2015, 172) has drawn in her study, as she notes that translations of West-African novels employing a combination of foreignising and domesticating strategies appear to have been the most commercially successful in Finland.

Section 4.2 introduced specific thematic areas where interlingual code-switching is most often found in the novels and the differing ways in which the translators dealt with these different types of interlingual code-switching. The strategies used by the translators in connection to these different types of code-switching were somewhat different. Interlingual code-switching related to names and appellatives was one of the most likely categories to be maintained in all translations, and in many cases the translators would not even add italics to these types of switches. Capitalisation was removed from appellatives in most occurrences, as Finnish does not generally capitalise appellatives. Likewise, interlingual code-switching in exclamations and expletives was often maintained without any added cushioning. In contrast, interlingual code-switching related to flora and fauna was often translated into Finnish, probably due to the importance of these elements in providing the reader with a mental image of the setting of the text.

In the other categories, more variation existed between the translations. References to religion were often maintained, but for those translators who had the tendency to domesticate, some type of cushioning was often added. Cushioning related to religious references was the most likely to contain strategies that were in some way Eurocentric. Strategies related to references to oral tradition varied considerably, as some occurrences were maintained without added cushioning while others were omitted altogether. A similar variation could be seen in references to other types of culturally specific items, although in most cases references to local cuisine or musical genres, for example, were maintained.

The differing strategies used for different types of interlingual code-switching suggest that the translators, in choosing their strategies, pay attention to the intended reading experience of the translation. As was mentioned earlier, the literary translator can be considered to be adopting the position that Attridge (2011) termed ‘responsible reading’, in that they consider which aspects of the text are significant for providing the reader with a reading experience that corresponds, as much as can be expected, with that intended by the author of the source text. Consequently, more domesticating strategies were used, for example, with references to flora and fauna, descriptions of which are instrumental in providing a mental image of the text’s setting, whereas more foreignising strategies were used for references to complex cultural concepts to provide the reader with the possibility of experiencing the foreignness of the culture without excessive explication.

Some of the differences between the styles of different translators can also be seen to be affected by their background and the personal preferences stemming from it. In section 3.2, I placed the translators on a continuum ranging from culture-oriented translators to language-oriented translators. A translator’s position along the continuum is determined by what they consider to be the most significant points of focus during the translation process. The more culture-oriented translators tended to

preserve code-switching and other culture-specific items more often than those who were more language-oriented. Language-oriented translators tended to omit code-switching more often due to issues related to the fluency of the Finnish in the translation. Language-oriented translators thus viewed fluency and ease of reading as more important than the retention of all foreign-language items, whereas culture-oriented translators tended to pay closer attention to the retention of cultural references.

Chapter 5 focused on spoken language, and the discussion was divided into subsections for strategies related to different levels of language. In the source texts, the illusion of spoken language was created mostly using the morphosyntactic and lexical levels, whereas the phonological level was somewhat less used. There was, however, an increase of phonological features used over time, which suggests that chronological changes have taken place in the literary tradition, meaning that contemporary authors have more freedom in depicting spoken language in their literary works than did authors writing in the 1960s or 1970s. Over time, as the use of spoken language in literature becomes more acceptable and commonplace, the borders between narration and dialogue also become blurred. In the more recently published novels, the distinction between the language of the narration and that of the dialogue is not as clear-cut as in the older publications, where dialogue is still strictly the arena for spoken language use.

A similar shift to increased use of phonological features could be seen in the translations, although at least partly the tendency to use phonological features could also be attributed to specific translators. Previous research in the field has shown a tendency for translations to limit the depiction of spoken language primarily to the lexical level. The lexical level was also utilised more extensively than other levels of the language in the six translations discussed here, although certain unmarked morphosyntactic features were also used frequently. More variation between translators could be seen on the phonological level. Additionally, on the phonological as well as the lexical level, some of the translators had also used features of Finnish spoken language that would not be considered unmarked. These included for example some phonological features generally linked to Eastern Finnish dialects as well as colloquial forms of pronouns used in various regionally specific dialects.

The issue of cultural integrity in translating heterolingual texts is a complex one. In particular, the use of spoken language in these novels for the portrayal of creole languages poses many challenges for the translators. If we accept that it is impossible for the literary translator to convey all the subtleties and hidden meanings of a language that is anchored – geographically, culturally, as well as socially – in its source text setting, what can the translator do to convey the intended literary experience to the reader of the translation? The intensity of spoken language

elements used in a text also varies in terms of what is acceptable and what readers are used to in different language communities at different points in time. The question, then, is not solely one of source text fidelity but also of target text suitability for its intended audience. As one of my interviewees poignantly put it, “a translation should not be too obtrusive” but rather it “needs to be faithful to the original but also be pleasing for the Finnish reader”. The obtrusiveness of specific translation strategies is dependent on the time and place of publication of the text. The amount and type of spoken language acceptable for literary translations in the 2010s is in many ways different to that of the 1960s. Similar sentiments were echoed, for example, by Gołuch (2014, 162), who considered a domesticating strategy suitable for the Polish translation of Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* in order to avoid stereotyping responses from the Polish readership. Bandia’s (2008, 239) ideal strategy was one that combined domestication and foreignisation.

As previously explained, spoken language began to be used extensively in Finnish translated (high) literature in the 1970s (Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013, 325). This trend was also apparent in my materials, although the period prior to the 1970s is, in my case, only represented by one text, namely Siikarla’s translation of Rhys’s *Sargasso*. Compared to Siikarla’s 1968 translation, Loponen’s use of features attributed to Finnish spoken language is significantly more liberal and versatile. This, presumably, has partly to do with the time of publication, but personal style can also be said to play its part. Loponen could perhaps be said to be more liberal and versatile in his use of spoken language than many other translators of his time, too. This impression is supported by the fact that Loponen was awarded several prestigious prizes for his translation work, one of which – the Mikael Agricola Award in 1979 – was given specifically due to his translation of spoken language in Naipaul’s *Masseur*.

The criteria also seem to be different for translations than they are for literary works originally written in Finnish, which has become apparent in previous studies (see e.g. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013). In my materials, this difference can be seen in the translation of *Folktales*. The translator, Anni Sumari, is a well-known literary author in her own right, and because of this she seems to be given more licence in creating her translations as well. Other interviewees told stories of different kinds of relationships between translator and editor – both positive and negative – and none of them had ever managed to get their own suggestions for works to be translated accepted by the publishers. In Sumari’s case, on the other hand, nearly all of her translations have been her own suggestions, and the editorial process for her translations appears to be minimal. This would suggest that publishers place more trust in original authors than they do in translators.

Edwin Gentzler (2002, 203–204) writes about the “subversive” translations of Suzanne Jill Levine and contemplates whether Levine’s unorthodox translation

strategies are accepted because she is able to ride on the fame of the source text author. In a similar vein, perhaps Sumari is able to get her unconventional translation strategies accepted because of her own fame as an author. It would certainly seem to be the case that another translator would in all likelihood have had to justify their choice of strategies more. During our correspondence, Sumari herself talks about her own image as a translator, which she likes to be seen as “colourful and versatile”, which is one of the reasons she decided to translate Antoni’s work. The ability to choose the works she wishes to translate rather than being dependent on which works are offered to her by the publishers (as is the case for the other translators) also gives Sumari significantly more freedom in controlling her own image as a translator.

On the other hand, a feature that could be seen as giving both Lopenen and Sumari somewhat more freedom in the use of spoken language in their translations is that the source texts they have translated have had a certain comedic character to them that perhaps does not exist in the other source texts. Some forms of spoken language have traditionally been more acceptable in comic forms of writing, and thus using spoken language in a text that has a comedic nature is relatively more easy than using it in a work with a more serious theme. This is perhaps also seen in Aaltonen’s translation of *Carnival* in that the heaviest use of spoken language features can be seen in connection with the quirkiest characters, such as the airport employee Ganish and the man selling William marijuana during the carnival. Furthermore, although most spoken language features used by the translators are those that can be considered unmarked, it also appears that the most significant use of marked features of spoken language can be found in the texts that have an aspect of comedy to them.

Apparent changes in attitudes towards creole languages became manifest in the translations as well. Although the conventions of literary translation may certainly place restrictions on the use of spoken language in translated works, there are, however, issues that are still within the power of the translator. One of the main issues that the translator, in my opinion, is able to address is that of fluency. The six novels using spoken language that have been discussed in this dissertation all use spoken language to represent the use of an English-lexifier creole, in this case either Jamaican or Trinidadian Creole. The aim of the source text author, then, has not been to create language that looks like ‘bad English’, but most of the characters depicted in the novels are speaking a variety that they consider to be a native or near-native language. Consequently, using a variety of spoken language in the translation that resembles that of a fluent speaker of Finnish comes closer to the original intention of the authors than using for example ‘foreigner talk’ or ‘native talk’, which were discussed in section 5.2. Additionally, just as Gołuch (2014, 162) argues, using fluent language helps avoid “stereotyping responses”.

At the beginning of this dissertation, Tymoczko (1999, 23) was quoted as suggesting that, when translating postcolonial literatures into other languages – or indeed when producing the source texts for these translations – an increase in distance between the source and target cultures leads to an increase in simplification in the target text. Based on the analysis of code-switching used in the Finnish translations discussed in this dissertation, I am not convinced that this indeed is the case. The cultural as well as geographical distance between Finland and the Caribbean is considerable, which, based on Tymoczko's claim, would indicate a much larger degree of simplification than can be found in the translations. This may in part be connected to the fact that the source text authors, in employing strategies of intercultural translation in producing their literary works, have already provided simplification to a degree that makes their works easily digestible for an international audience. Consequently, as the simplification – or cushioning – is already provided in the source text, the Finnish translator may have little need for added simplification or cushioning in the translation. Based on the interviews conducted with the translators, the personal preferences and writing style of the translator as well as their background and general interests seem to be much more influential. Those with a background in languages and a keen interest in the Finnish language specifically tended to opt for more domesticating strategies than those whose background or interests lie in cultural studies.

There is, however, another type of distance that I hold to play a much more significant role in how interlingual code-switching in particular is maintained in the Finnish translations. Instead of culture or geography, this distance has to do with linguistic structure. In addition to the cultural simplification which she primarily discusses, Tymoczko (*ibid.*) also mentions some other issues of difference between source and target that the translator may run across, one of which is “incompatibilities between the substance of any two linguistic systems”. As explained in subsection 2.1.4, creole languages tend to be highly analytic in nature. The same – albeit to a somewhat lesser degree – can be said of English, which is the matrix language in the source texts, and Spanish, which is another significant embedded language alongside the various creoles. Accordingly, switching between English as a matrix language and other analytic languages as embedded languages tends to cause significantly fewer structural issues than switching between Finnish – a highly agglutinative language – as a matrix language and analytic languages as embedded languages. Consequently, many instances where interlingual code-switching was omitted were connected to the types of foreign words that would have been particularly tricky to embed into the Finnish matrix language text.

7 Conclusion

In this dissertation, I examined the strategies employed by authors in producing heterolingual Caribbean novels as well as their Finnish translators. In most cases, the Finnish translators followed the global strategies chosen by the source text authors quite closely, although variation could be found in local strategies. Based on their tendency to choose specific types of strategies, the translators could be divided into culture-oriented and language-oriented translators. Culture-oriented translators, whose background and interests lay in cultural studies, tended to opt for more foreignising strategies, whereas language-oriented translators, whose interests lay in language, tended to opt for more domesticating strategies, with a focus on proving the most fluent Finnish target text possible. Additionally, there were indications that translators with a more artistic background tended to choose strategies involving linguistic innovation more often than others.

Comparison with the results of this study and those of previous studies suggests that differences between the literary traditions of different target cultures have an influence on the kinds of translation strategies that are considered acceptable. Finnish translators pay considerable attention to preserving the cultural integrity of the source text in choosing their translation strategies. However, more restrictions in terms of style and language use are placed on literary translators in Finland than on the authors of original Finnish literary works. This naturally causes some limitations on what the translator can do. In addition to these external restrictions, challenges related to structural differences between source and target languages also cause their own limitations. The distance in terms of linguistic structures of Finnish (a highly agglutinative language) and creoles (highly analytic languages) can make it challenging to create fluent portrayals of heterolingual discourse.

The study provided some insight into potential topics for future studies. Studies into how authors and translators communicate in different cultural settings may provide understanding into how this communication could be used to ensure that the author's intention comes across in the translation. From the texts discussed in this dissertation, it became apparent that changes in literary traditions (such as the trend of not using italics for interlingual code-switching in Caribbean novels) may not always carry over to the translations if the author's intention has not been clear.

Another aspect where literary translators could benefit from some improvements is international networking. Finnish literary translators have formed active and highly functional domestic networks that provide much-needed peer support for translators. However, the interviews with the translators suggested that very little networking occurs at a wider international level. The cultivation of such international networks could provide translators world-wide with essential support in accessing resources related, for example, to cultural content. This in turn would promote cultural understanding and ensure that translators are able to take into account aspects of cultural integrity in their work.

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Appendix 1 – List of novels

Author	Title	Title abbreviation	Original published	Matrix language	Primary embedded languages	Translator	Translated title	Translation published
V. S. Naipaul	<i>The Mystic Masseur</i>	<i>Masseur</i>	1957	British English	Hindi, Trinidadian Creole	Seppo Loponen	<i>Täysinoppinut hieroja</i>	1978
V. S. Naipaul	<i>A House for Mr Biswas</i>	<i>House</i>	1961	British English	Hindi, Trinidadian Creole	Seppo Loponen	<i>Talo mr Biswasille</i>	1985
Jean Rhys	<i>Wide Sargasso Sea</i>	<i>Sargasso</i>	1966	British English	Antillean Creole, French, Jamaican Creole	Eva Siikarla	<i>Siintää Sargassomeri</i>	1968
Edwidge Danticat	<i>Breath, Eyes, Memory</i>	<i>Breath</i>	1994	American English	French, Haitian Creole	Leena Tamminen	<i>Näen, muistan, hengitän</i>	1999
Himilce Novas	<i>Mangos, Bananas and Coconuts: A Cuban Love Story</i>	<i>Mangos</i>	1996	American English	Spanish	Sari Selander	<i>Mangot, banaanit ja kookospähkinät: kuubalainen rakkaustarina</i>	1998
Cristina García	<i>The Agüero Sisters</i>	<i>Sisters</i>	1997	American English	Spanish	Leena Tamminen	<i>Kuubalaiset sisarukset</i>	1999
Edwidge Danticat	<i>The Farming of Bones</i>	<i>Bones</i>	1998	American English	Haitian Creole, Spanish	Leena Tamminen	<i>Veressä viljava maa</i>	2000
Robert Antoni	<i>My Grandmother's Erotic Folktales</i>	<i>Folktales</i>	2000	Trinidadian English	Trinidadian Creole	Anni Sumari	<i>Isoäitini eroottiset kansantarinat</i>	2000
Robert Antoni	<i>Carnival</i>	<i>Carnival</i>	2005	American English	Trinidadian Creole	Einari Aaltonen	<i>Karnevaalit</i>	2005
Andrea Levy	<i>The Long Song</i>	<i>Song</i>	2010	Jamaican English	Jamaican Creole	Kirsi Kinnunen	<i>Pitkä laulu</i>	2014



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